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C. SALLUSTI CRISPI
IUGURTHA

EDITED BY

W. C. SUMMERS, M.A.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE text of this edition is based on that of Jordan's third, but I have departed from it in several important passages (of which a list is given on pp. xxxiv, xxxv), especially in the chapters not contained in the best MSS. (*codd. mutili*), where I have generally followed the recension of Wirz[1]. In 97. 5, where *some* correction was needed, I have ventured to print in the text a conjecture of my own.

In writing the notes I have tried to observe the principles I set before me in editing the *Catiline*. Fabri and the earlier editions of Jacobs-Wirz have again been most useful. The later editions of the latter, though in some respects superior to the former ones, are often less helpful. What, for instance, is to be said of the explanation given for the difference in mood of *dehortantur* and *superet* in 31. 1? The reason, we learn, lies

'darin, dass die Aussage des Hauptsatzes als unbedingt an sich giltig behauptet wird, wozu die im Vorstellungsmodus gegebene Annahme mit *si* nicht eine Voraussetzung enthält,

[1] In his separate edition of this portion of the *Iugurtha*, Zürich, 1897 (Fäsi and Beer). In this section of my text, all letters not represented in any of his 5 MSS. are printed in italics, which are elsewhere reserved for those not represented in any of the *codd. mutili*.

sondern die Angabe des Falles bringt, in welchem die Behauptung ihre Bestätigung finde, und einen Gedanken anschliesst, der erst nach dem Gedanken des Hauptsatzes hinterher entsteht (posteriorisches Verhältnis), und zwar ist in dem Satz mit *ni* ausgedrückt, dass in dem angenommenen Fall die Bestätigung der Behauptung aufgehoben sei.'

The note on *accessissent* (58. 3) is similar, though the old explanation (given in my note) is much simpler and commends itself to such a student of Latinity as Dr J. S. Reid, whose kind help as regards some points on which I consulted him I here gratefully acknowledge.

Quotations from Greek authors I have rendered into English, and, in general, have refrained from citing parallel passages from outside the *Iugurtha*, save when they seemed very necessary or at least likely to relieve the monotony of the Notes. Some of the latter, or parts of them, which dealt with more advanced matters and might be omitted in a first reading, I have marked off by the use of brackets.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

WITHINGTON,
October 1902.

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INTRODUCTION.

A.

SALLUST AS A HISTORIAN AND A STYLIST.

C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS was born at the Sabine town of Amiternum in 86 B.C.[1], only a few years before the civil war which followed Sulla's return from the East. The little that we know of his life relates mainly to his political career. We know that he was a tribune in the troubled year 52 B.C., when he was one of those who, after the death of Clodius, fanned the flame of popular fury against Milo and his defender Cicero[2]. A Sallust was pro-quaestor in Syria in 50 B.C., but it seems improbable that he was the historian[3]. This year saw his expulsion from the senate by the censors[4], which no doubt helped to make him join Caesar when the civil war broke out. Through Caesar's influence he seems to have held the quaestorship and so re-entered the senate[5]. In 48 he commanded a legion in Illyria[6]. Next year he was sent to pacify Caesar's mutinous troops in Campania; but this was a task reserved for their general, and Sallust had to flee for his life[7]. In the

[1] The dates of his birth and death are given by Jerome.
[2] Asconius tells us this.
[3] Cic. Fam. 2. 17 is written to him.
[4] Dio 40. 63 and § 16 of the invective mentioned on p. xi.
[5] The invective §§ 17 and 21.
[6] Orosius 6. 15. 8.
[7] Appian B.C. 2. 92.

African campaign of the following year, when he was praetor, we find him more successful: he captured some of the enemy's stores at Cercina and brought much-needed supplies to Caesar's camp[1]. At the end of the campaign he was left governor of Numidia[2]. Here he appears to have got his wealth, it is alleged, by extortion[3]. We really know no more of his life beyond his own statement that he retired from political life[4]. Probably the death of Caesar occasioned this act. We know that his house and grounds on the Quirinal hill[5] at Rome were palatial: the Roman emperors afterwards owned them, and his heir was able to imitate Maecenas both in luxury and in intimacy with Augustus[6]. Here, no doubt, he wrote his works and enjoyed his 'precious leisure[7].' Jerome[8] says he married Cicero's divorced wife Terentia, but he seems to have had no children living at his death and made his sister's grandson his heir[9]. He died in 35, four years before the battle of Actium.

Sallust's reputation has not come down to us in a good light. Expulsion by the censors necessarily implied a certain amount of scandalous living on the part of the person expelled. His own words in the Catiline read like an *apologia pro uita sua*, though he insists on his absolute innocence[10]. As regards definite facts, his intrigue with Milo's wife was vouched for by so serious a writer as Varro[11] and may be regarded as historic. But Suetonius tells us of one Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompey's, who revenged Sallust's abuse of his patron by calling him a licentious glutton and wastrel[12], and much the same tone is adopted by the writers of the second, third and fourth centuries after Christ[13]. The climax, however, is reached

[1] Bell. Afr. 8 and 34.
[2] Bell. Afr. 97.
[3] The invective § 19. Dio 43. 9.
[4] Cat. 4. 1, cp. Iug. 4. 3.
[5] *horti Sallustiani*, Tac. A. 13. 47, H. 3. 82.
[6] Tac. A. 3. 30.
[7] *bonum otium* Cat. 4. 1.
[8] Adu. Iou. 1.
[9] Tac. l. c.
[10] 5 §§ 4 and 5.
[11] In Aulus Gellius 17. 18.
[12] Suet. Gram. 15.
[13] Gellius, Lactantius, Symmachus, and Macrobius: they lay stress on the difference between the tone of his writings and that of his life.

by a curious composition, purporting to be written by Cicero against Sallust[1], in which the latter's character is subjected to all the scurrilous abuse which the ancients allowed themselves and which, if well founded, would justify us in regarding our author as a *monstrum nulla uirtute redemptum a uitiis*. That the work is not Cicero's is clear of course from the style, but, apart from this, it appears as an answer to an invective of Sallust's against Cicero, which precedes it in the MSS. and is exactly similar in style. They probably come from the same hand, a teacher of rhetoric having composed them as a 'fair copy' for his pupils. Wretched as is the style, still, if we can trust Quintilian's MSS., that author cites passages contained in the invective against Cicero, so that it must have been composed before 90 A.D. Indeed, if we once admit that it may have been written by a third-rate rhetorician, we may put the date very much earlier than this. As the brief account of Sallust's life given above shews, we get certain facts from the invective which are borne out by other writers, but the sweeping charges obviously must not be absolutely accepted. I cannot help thinking that Seneca would have mentioned Sallust's immorality, had he regarded him as exceptionally bad[2].

Two of Sallust's works we possess complete: the *de Coniuratione Catilinae* and the Iugurtha. In the former he gives an account of the famous conspiracy, which he, rightly or wrongly, regarded as a serious attempt at revolution. Of his main work, the Histories, we possess only fragments—most of them preserved in a collection of the speeches and letters which were introduced by Sallust into his works. That they dealt with the period from Sulla's death to 67 B.C. is generally inferred from various facts, and the extant fragments agree with this theory[3]. So limited a period can hardly be said to involve a departure

[1] *M. Tullii in Sallustium inuectiua.*
[2] Cp. for instance his interesting remarks on Maecenas' morals and style, Ep. 114. 4 sqq.
[3] See however on 95. 2.

from the intention which he originally set himself—of writing separate essays on epochs of Roman history[1].

The Romans had not a very clear idea of the functions of the historian. Quintilian[2] says 'history is very near to poetry: it is a kind of poem free from the trammels of metre, written with a view to description rather than proof of any particular point,' and Cicero[3], whilst maintaining that different laws are to be observed in writing history and in writing poetry, implies that he thought the former a task peculiarly suitable for an orator. The earliest Roman historians actually wrote in Greek: the elder Cato was the first to use Latin for this purpose[4]. The rhetorical tendency is generally assumed to have been very clear in Caelius (Gracchan period), whilst the first trace of critical power is claimed for Claudius Quadrigarius[5] (Sullan period). Cicero implies[6] that Claudius' contemporary, Sisenna, beat all his predecessors, and yet the result was *puerile quiddam*. This author is cited by Sallust[7] in terms of appreciation, and his love of archaism, attested by Cicero, may have helped to form Sallust's style. But the fragments of the early historians are very scanty, and the criticisms of the ancients upon these authors are not always very satisfactory[8]: for us, Roman history begins with Sallust and Caesar. The form of Caesar's writings is unpretentious enough, though skill is displayed in bringing out the merits of the general: their aim is practical. But in Sallust we recognise the predecessor of Livy and Tacitus.

The rhetorical side of Sallust's writings is visible at a glance.

[1] Cat. 4. 2. [2] 10. 1. 31.

[3] Leg. 1. 4 and 5. The second statement is put in the mouth of Atticus, as a view held by Cicero himself.

[4] For Sallust's debt to Cato see below, p. xvi.

[5] Mainly because, as his first book treated of the Gallic conquest of Rome, it is assumed that he threw overboard all the fabulous period.

[6] l. c. 7. [7] Iug. 95. 2.

[8] For instance, in Brut. 66, Cicero says Cato's *origines* contained every *florem aut lumen eloquentiae*, and yet in De Or. 2. 53 classes him with historians who do not understand *quibus rebus ornetur oratio*.

He is an imitator of Thucydides[1], and would be the first scientific historian of Rome. But his introductions and digressions do not compare favourably with those of his original. His moralising is like Seneca's, in the *Quaestiones Naturales*: one wonders whether it is as out of character in Sallust as it certainly was in the other. And in the Iugurtha he often only repeats what he has already observed in the Catiline. Like Thucydides, he is fond of psychology. I need but refer to the almost Vergilian account of Micipsa's perplexity with regard to Masinissa[2], and the alternative explanations offered, in a manner familiar enough to readers of Tacitus, for the chagrin of Metellus on his supersession by Marius[3]. The speeches again are Thucydidean: they lay no claim to verbal accuracy, even if they reproduced the general sense of what was said. We may judge them by those he puts in the mouths of Caesar and Cato, in the Catiline. There are points in Caesar's speech which, judging from Cicero's fourth speech against Catiline, he probably did make. On the other hand this same speech of Cicero shows that Sallust has omitted an important part of Caesar's proposal. And Caesar begins his oration in a suspiciously Sallustian way. As for Cato's speech, it does not agree well with the other accounts of it, and some of the thoughts contained therein are favourites with Sallust[4]. And so it is with Marius' speech in the Iugurtha: it contains quite a number of translations from the Greek writers[5], familiar enough no doubt to Sallust, but strange in the mouth of this rough soldier who is so proud of never having learned Greek at all.

It is difficult to indulge a taste for rhetoric, and yet remain

[1] And not only of his style, but in some cases of his phrases and ideas. From the Iugurtha one may instance 7. 5, 60. 4, 84. 1 (see the notes).

[2] 6. 2 and 3. [3] 82. 3.

[4] The references are given in my ed. of the Catiline, Intr. p. xiii.

[5] These parallels I have not given in the notes, but they are easily accessible in Wirz, and shew that Marius had digested Demosthenes, Lysias and Plato! For the influence of Greek studies on the *grammar* of Sallust, see Index, s.v. 'Grecisms.'

accurate. What care has Sallust taken to ensure that his account is correct and clear? In the Catiline he does not once refer to any literary authority for his statements. In the Iugurtha he does mention Sisenna[1], as having dealt with Sulla's relations to Marius, and in his description of Africa he cites the *libri Punici* of king Hiempsal[2]. These latter however he might as well have left unread, if we may judge from the ridiculous attempt at ethnography which he has extracted from them. It is also very probable that he used the autobiography of Rutilius Rufus[3]—especially as his account of the battle at the Muthul, in which that officer took a prominent part, is exceptionally vivid and circumstantial[4]. But how little he troubled about details is well seen from the fact that, though as governor of Numidia he had exceptional facilities for studying the country, no one would infer from this book that he had ever seen it. Not a word has he to say of the striking position of Cirta[5]: with all his affected desire for historical fact, he does not note how little the position of the *arae Philaenorum* accords with the tale which attaches to them[6]. For comparison of records or topographical investigation Sallust has evidently no bent.

Now Livy, though not averse from parading the names of his 'authorities,' shared this dislike for the trouble of research. But, at any rate, by preserving the annalistic form he left us tolerably clear as to his chronology. Not so Sallust. Throughout the whole account of the war, we have but one definite date given—the month of January in which, he says, Albinus made his unfortunate winter expedition[7]. How vague and careless is his use of *interea, postremo, post paucos dies* etc. may be seen from his account of the events between Iugurtha's return from Spain and Micipsa's death[8]. When we come to the war itself, we find ourselves in a hopeless difficulty. One can only mention

[1] 95. 2. [2] 17. 7. [3] 50. 1 n.

[4] S. is fond of the vague *accepi(mus)*, which he often uses in referring to remote periods of history or distant regions (cp. Cat. 6. 1, Iug. 19. 5, 78. 1): in 13. 9 it is used in reference to Adherbal's speech.

[5] 23. 1 n. [6] 79. 7 n. [7] 37. 3.

[8] See on 9. 3, and for his use of the words *eodem tempore* 74. 1 n.

a few points here. It is quite clear that the siege near the Muluccha of ch. 92 must have happened in the year after the expedition to Capsa of ch. 89 sqq. For the latter took place at the end of the summer[1], and a glance at the map will shew the distance between the Muluccha and Capsa. Yet Sallust certainly leads us to suppose that both events belonged to the same year[2], saying not a word about Marius' having withdrawn into winter quarters, as he does later on (*after* the Muluccha expedition[3]). Even the one definite date referred to above gives trouble. Albinus' defeat, he says, took place in *January*. Now on the 1st of January the consuls for the year must have been elected, or, if they were not, they would necessarily enter office the moment they were. In other words the term *designati* could not be applied to them[4]. Yet we are told that *after* Aulus' disaster the 'consules designati' drew lots for their provinces[5]. Here chronology, or knowledge of simple constitutional law, is at fault. Sallust often errs in this last respect[6]. But the fact is, he does not *wish* to be accurate or to give a good account of the war. Otherwise, could he have omitted to say how it was that Cirta, whose capture by Iugurtha brought about the declaration of war, was in Metellus' hands towards the end of his term of office[7]?

There remains the question: was Sallust, apart from temptations of rhetoric, as impartial as he claims to be[8]? It is believed by some scholars that he wrote this work as a glorification of Marius, the uncle of his favourite Caesar. Yet he does not hesitate to refer to the darker episodes of his hero's career[9], and shew clearly enough how his successes were sometimes due

[1] *aestatis extremum erat* 90. 1.

[2] Read carefully chapters 89—92, and observe that Sulla does not arrive until ch. 95, though of course he must have followed Marius to his province without any long delay.

[3] 97. 3.

[4] See the explanation of the word on 27. 2. [5] 43. 1.

[6] See Index s.v. 'constitution.' [7] 81. 2.

[8] Cat. 4. 2 *mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicae animus liber erat.*

[9] 63. 6.

to fortune[1]. Mommsen's reply to such arguments is that 'the fact that the author keeps the character of these writings in the background proves not that they are not partisan treatises, but that they are good ones[2].' Thus every point alleged against his theory only raises his estimate of Sallust's powers. We must be content to note these points, without feeling certain of the deductions to be drawn from them. Sallust's account of Metellus is all that a Cicero could have desired: the attention drawn to his weakness in feeling hurt at Marius' success seems due rather to the idle curiosity of the psychologist than political spite. Nor is there any attempt to cloak Sulla's services to his general: he is clearly the hero of the last engagement in the book.

Sallust's peculiarities as a stylist may be grouped under the heads 'Archaism,' 'Brevity' and 'Variety.'

I. Archaism.

Asinius Pollio, severest of ancient critics, said that Sallust employed one Ateius Philologus to collect *antiqua uerba et figuras* for his use[3]. Lenaeus taunted him with stealing words from the elder Cato's writings[4], and others echo this charge[5]. Modern critics believe that many of his peculiarities are due to his having preferred forms which others regarded as only fit for colloquial use. As in English, so in Latin: the popular speech preserved many archaisms, and it is not easy to decide, in the case of any given usage, to which tendency it belongs[6]. The phenomenon itself is clear enough. We have

[1] 92. 2, 94. 7. [2] R. H. 4, p. 184, note. [3] Suet. gram. 10.

[4] ib. 15: *Catonis uerborum ineruditissimum furem.*

[5] e.g. Augustus in Suet. Aug. 86, and an epigram in Quint. 8. 3. 29. Direct use of Cato's work can be proved, in spite of the fragmentary state of that writer's literary remains. Cp. with § 85 Cato (ed. Jord. p. 50): *periurium sit, cum mihi ob eos mores quos prius habui honos datur, ubi datus est, tum uti eos mutem atque alii modi sim.* See also 6. 3 n.

[6] Probus and Gellius must mean much the same thing when they call him *uerborum nouator* or speak of his *nouandi studium*. Gellius

(*a*) *Peculiarities of Construction*[1].

Cases: genitive after *egere* and *potiri*, simple ablative of place with names of countries. **Moods**: the indicative (1) with *quippe qui*, (2) *cum* or *qui* causal, (3) in subordinate clauses of Or. Obl. Here too belong the use of *solet* without an infinitive, *ire* with the supine, *scilicet* with acc. and inf., *uorsus* with a preposition, and the frequent asyndeta. If the reading in 100. 4 were more certain, we might reckon *futurum* as perhaps the most notable archaism in Sallust.

(*b*) *Peculiarities of Vocabulary.*

Here we have (1) common words in unusual senses (*attinere, dolere, supplicia, uerbum*), (2) uncommon words like *incultus* (noun), *naue, prosapia* and (3) words and phrases avoided by Cicero and Caesar, or used by them in a different sense (*cupido, facundia, munificentia, necessitudo; extorris; ductare, grassari, patrare; super=de; nulla sunt*).

Sometimes the vocabulary and constructions give a poetical colour to his style. As examples one may mention his use of such words as *mortales, uecordia; profugus; uoluere* (=ponder); of adjectives (especially along with a partitive genitive) as nouns; of adverbs or prepositional phrases as equivalents for adjectives. Here too seem to belong *cetera* as accusative of respect, *que...que* in coordination, and the free use of the infinitive.

Of archaic *forms*, such as meet us in Lucretius, we find few. He has a few nominatives like *odos, luxu* for the dative, *senati* (but see on 25. 11), *neglegisset, -ere* almost always in the third

indeed definitely says in one passage *noua uideri dico etiam ea quae sunt immutata et desita, etsi sunt uetusta*. S. certainly has words whose previous existence we cannot prove (e.g. *incruentus* 92. 4): some indeed —*discordiosus* (66. 2) for instance—are never used by any other good writer.

[1] All the exx. cited will be found in the Index, esp. under 'cases' and 'moods.'

person plural of the perfect, *diu noctuque*, and so forth: also the rare *nequitur*, the form *conperior* and the active forms of a good many verbs that are generally deponents. Besides this, the spelling is throughout that of an early period.

II. Brevity.

This feature of Sallust's style is referred to by the ancients even more frequently than his love of archaisms, sometimes simply by speaking of his *breuitas*, sometimes by longer explanatory expressions, such as *nihil demi sine detrimento sensus potest*[1]*; amputatae sententiae et uerba ante exspectatum cadentia*[2]*; abruptum sermonis genus*[3]. The reference seems in the main to the brevity of his sentences, his complete disregard for the period[4]. The editors cite also his ellipses (especially of the verb *sum*) and his asyndeta. To these may be added his free use of the present participle where the best writers employ a dependent clause, and of appositional phrases instead of relative sentences. See also Index under 'Brevity,' 'Symmetry' and 'Zeugma.' As definite examples of compression of thought one may select the famous description of Hiempsal's death, where the assassins find his hiding place and—carry his head to Jugurtha[5]; or sentences like 100. 4 (*ipse armatus intentusque* **item milites cogebat**), and above all 112. 3 'a man of high birth would not be left—through no fault of his own, but on the contrary in the service of the state—in the enemy's hands.' This last example exhibits the fault that commonly attends on brevity—obscurity: another example of this is to be found in his rapid survey of the African coast of

[1] Sen. Contr. 9. 1. 13.

[2] Sen. Ep. 114. 16.

[3] Quint. 4. 2. 45. Other passages will be found in Teuffel 206. 6.

[4] The second passage quoted clearly refers to this: cp. Cic. Or. 168 sqq. where he speaks of the older writers who did not use the period (*conclusio*), and the expression *apte uerba cecidissent* of § 168 is opposed to *infracta et amputata loquuntur* of § 170. So Quint. 10. 2. 17 speaks of imitators of Thucydides and Sallust *praecisis conclusionibus obscuri*. The endings of both the Catiline and the Iugurtha are very abrupt.

[5] 12. 6.

the Mediterranean[1]. One might, I think, fairly call Sallust's style 'breathless,' in view of the hurried way in which he throws in a parenthesis, long or short[2], with the appearance of one who is hastening on to more important matters—in fact, as was said of his model Thucydides, *breuis et semper instans sibi*.

III. Variety.

Attention has been drawn to this so often in the notes[3] that it is not necessary to say much here. Here I note in order: 4. 2 **quia** *multi dixere...simul* **ne** *quis existumet*, 14. 3 *uellem...* **possem...deberi benificia...uti uterer**, 17. 5 **frugum** *fertilis*, *bonus* **pecori, arbore** *infecundus*, 32. 3 *fuere qui...alii...pars*, 46. 4 *persuadet uti...sin* **procedat...traderent**, 74. 3 *armorum aliquanto* **numero, hostium** *paucorum potiti*, 82. 3 *quam rem alii* **in superbiam uortebant,** *alii* **ingenium...accensum esse,** *multi* **quod...uictoria eriperetur**, 97. 3 **munimento** (dative) *fore et...***nullo** *impedimento*, 108. 1 *praemissus* **orator** *et...* **speculatum**. The combination of indicative and historic infinitive (30. 3, 47. 4, 94. 4) is, I suppose, due to the same cause. Yet this does not always prevent monotony, as is shewn by the commonness of such words and phrases as *ad hoc*, *agitare*, *artes*, *habere*[4], *mortales*, *ea tempestate* and slovenly repetitions (e.g. of *procedere* thrice in 6 lines: 21. 1 and 2).

Both as a historian and as a stylist Sallust was highly esteemed by the ancients—not only by foolish people like Arruntius[5], who slavishly copied his unusual expressions and introduced them at every turn, or in a conventional way (as, for example, by Martial[6]), but by Quintilian[7] and, above all, by

[1] 19. 3 n.

[2] A short one 63. 3, a long one forming chapters 41 and 42: his use of the pluperfect (72. 1 n.) is characteristic of his way of looking forward to the end.

[3] See Index s.v. 'variation.'

[4] In very diverse senses: see Index s.v.

[5] An amusing account in Sen. Ep. 114. 17.

[6] *primus Romana Crispus in historia* Mart. 14. 191.

[7] Who calls him greater than Livy (2. 5. 19) and equal to Thucydides (10. 1. 101).

Tacitus, who called him *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*[1] and by the imitation of his style, and sometimes his matter[2], gave a still more eloquent testimony to his opinion. That the antiquarian age of Fronto and Gellius admired him is of course not surprising and of no great importance[3]. The voice of detraction arose mainly against his affectation of archaism[4], though we find his obscurity and bold use of metaphors censured[5]. The elder Seneca[6] implies that Livy depreciated him, and the difference between the temperaments of the two men makes it probable. Our own estimate of his powers would probably be much higher if we possessed the whole of the Histories, his chief and most mature work.

B.

THE ROMAN ARMY AT THE TIME OF THE IUGURTHINE WAR.

ANY account of this kind is rendered difficult by the fact that, though we know that the Roman army of Caesar's time, fifty years later, was very different from that which Polybius describes forty years earlier than our period, we nevertheless can only guess when the changes took place, and so are often unable to say whether in the campaigns of Metellus and Marius the old or the new system prevailed. The reforms are generally attributed to the influence of Marius. But the Romans set a praiseworthy example to posterity in their readiness to adapt their military institutions to the requirements of the wars in which they engaged, and the mountain skirmishing in the Alps region, the guerilla warfare in Numidia, and the impetuous rush of the Cimbrian hordes probably had most to do with the

[1] A. 3. 30. [2] See Index s.v. 'Tacitus.'

[3] Cp. Teuffel 206. 10.

[4] e.g. Asinius Pollio and Lenaeus quoted above.

[5] By Ateius Philologus, Suet. gram. 10. For Sallust's metaphors see Index.

[6] Contr. 9. 1. 14.

abandonment of the system which had proved effective against the regulars of Macedon and Syria. Some of the changes we know to be due to Marius, and some of the features of the old system appear in this war for the last time. But even if we felt sure that the whole change was his work, it would not be likely that it was effected until the experience of the Cimbrian as well as the Iugurthine war had proved its desirability. It would still be certain that the period before us was one of transition.

The levy seems still, as in Polybius' time, to have taken place every year. In those days, at any rate, four legions were regularly enrolled. Whether the troops of last year were disbanded, whether more than the usual number of fresh ones should be raised—this was for the senate to decide[1]. The task of finding the men belonged to the consuls, who regularly divided the troops equally between themselves[2].

To each consul who was to conduct a war was assigned a certain number of senators, chosen to assist him therein by advice or performance of actual military duties. These are the *legati*: in many respects they represent the staff of modern times. Marius and Rutilius held this position under Metellus, and Manlius under Marius when he became commander-in-chief[3]. Besides these, the general had at his disposal one of the lower magistrates called *quaestors*. The quaestor's duties

[1] Cp. 84. 2 where Marius demands *legionibus supplementum* etc., 3 *neque senatus...abnuere audebat...supplementum etiam laetus decreverat*.

[2] If one consul obviously needed more than the other, the rule would not be observed. M. indeed set out *cum aliquanto maiore numero quam decretum erat* 86. 4. How many legions there were in Africa is quite uncertain: the fact that a *tertia legio* was there (38. 6) only shews that at least three had been levied. As an actual fact the first and third legions generally went to one consul, the second and fourth to the other.

[3] See 46. 7, 50. 1, 60. 1, 86. 1. Aulus Albinus was probably his brother's legate: he is called *legatus* in 38. 1. The appointment lay practically in the consul's hand: see 28. 4.

were mainly those of a paymaster, but he reckoned as second in command and it was he, not one of the legates, who regularly represented the chief in his absence. Marius, coming in hot haste to Africa, leaves his quaestor behind to collect cavalry and follow after[1].

The levy however was not in the hands of legates or quaestor, but was conducted by the *tribuni militum*[2]. The Roman legion had not, until the time of Caesar, a fixed commander. Its highest officers were the six tribunes, colleagues of absolutely equal powers, which they exercised by dividing themselves into three pairs and delegating the chief authority to each pair for two months. The tribunes of the four legions regularly raised were magistrates, elected by the comitia[3], like the consuls themselves, for a single year. In Polybius' time a candidate must have seen at least five years' service, and something of the kind was probably still required in Cicero's time. We then find men of good birth beginning their career by serving, nominally as common soldiers, but really as 'orderlies' or the like, in close attendance on the general or some officer of high rank. This is the *contubernium* (lit. 'living in the same tent') in which we find the younger son of Metellus at the time when Marius wished to stand for the consulship, and it probably gave the right to become a candidate for the tribunate[4].

On the day appointed for the levy the tribunes, after deciding

[1] See 29. 4, 95. 1, 103. 4. In the last passage Sulla is left as Marius' representative. It was perhaps part of Spurius Albinus' crime that he left his brother instead (36. 4).

[2] Officially a defining genitive (*militum*, or *legionum* as in 46. 7), or the adjective *militaris* (66. 3), was necessary to distinguish them from the far more important *tribuni plebis*. Other reff. to tribunes: 59. 1, 60. 1, 100. 2.

[3] Hence the full title *tr. mil. a populo* (cp. 63. 4). If more than four legions were enrolled, the consuls, not the people, appointed their tribunes: these were not magistrates and were not *a populo*.

[4] 64. 4. The *cohors praetoria* (see below, p. xxvii) must have served much the same purpose.

by lot to what legions they themselves were to belong, proceeded to select their men. In Polybius' time all citizens whom the censors assessed at 4000 *asses* or more[1] must present themselves: the poorer classes were normally employed for the fleet, for the legions only in time of crisis. We know from Sallust that Marius changed this, admitting all alike without distinction to the army[2]—a change which rapidly demoralised the citizen army of the Republic into the mercenary force of the Empire.

The cavalry were chosen first. For this only a certain class of citizens was eligible—a class fixed, apparently, by considerations of age, birth and wealth[3]. Each legion received 300, each of the contingents being divided into 10 *turmae*[4]. But the Roman cavalry of the legion had been found feeble in the Hannibalic war, and later on, in Spain, had shewn all the weaknesses of an aristocratic corps—arrogance and mutiny. In Caesar's time they were no longer attached in this way to each legion: the *equites Romani* of his army appear only as officers[5], or in personal attendance on the general. When the change was made is quite uncertain. In the Iugurtha *equites Romani* are twice mentioned in connection with the army: one of the references is quite indefinite[6], the other shews that they

[1] i.e. all belonging to one or other of the five classes of the Centuriate assembly.

[2] 86. 2 and notes.

[3] The class which, in the Gracchan period at least and later, formed the second class of the community (next to the senators): see 42. 1, 65. 4. Its property qualification in the Ciceronian period is known: whether it was always the same is uncertain.

[4] As shewn further on, it is doubtful if these *turmae* of legionary cavalry existed now in the ordinary military sense All cavalry divisions were called by the name: e.g. the cavalry section of the *cohors praetoria* 98. 1; in 38. 3, 91. 1, 99. 1 the word clearly means 'cavalry' as opposed to 'infantry.' In 50. 5 *Romanorum turma* is quite general, and means 'Metellus' cavalry' as opposed to Iugurtha's.

[5] They would be tribunes or *praefecti socium* (see p. xxviii). Cp. especially Caes. B. C. 7. 65 *tribunis militum reliquisque equitibus Romanis*.

[6] 65. 4 *equites Romani, milites et negotiatores*.

were sometimes employed to form a guard of honour to foreign princes whose dignity Rome wished to recognise[1]. Perhaps this was one of the stages through which these corps passed to actual disbandment. There is however, another passage[2] where Sallust may be referring to Roman cavalry, and if so they were evidently even then used in the old way. He tells us that Metellus marched in the van, Marius with *cavalry* in the rear, and *auxiliary cavalry* were stationed on the flanks. This certainly implies that the cavalry with Marius was Roman. It may however have been that which was furnished by the Italian allies[3]. It is worth noting that Sallust never names the *decuriones* or leaders of the legionary cavalry, though he *does* mention cavalry leaders in general terms[4]. If these separate legionary contingents *did* survive till Marius' time, he was just the man to delight in breaking up so aristocratic an institution.

The cavalry enrolled, each tribe was called up in order settled by lot, and a certain number of its men chosen to serve and divided equally between the legions[5]. When the full tale of the latter was made up (numbers varied, but 4200 probably represents the average), proceedings closed with the administration of the oath to the men: one soldier from each legion actually took this, the rest being simply called up in turn to say the words *idem in me*.

In Polybius' time a legion contained four different classes of infantry. The *Triarii* (the oldest troops) were always 600 in number: the rest of the legion consisted of equal numbers of *Principes* (the next in age to the Triarii), *Hastati*, and *Velites* (the poorest citizens[6]). The Velites were an institution adopted when, in the Hannibalic war, the legionary cavalry were

[1] 65. 2 *custodiae causa, turmam equitum Romanorum.*
[2] 46. 7.
[3] For 'auxiliary' in the sense 'non-Italian' see p. xxix.
[4] 38. 3 *centuriones ducesque turmarum.*
[5] From Liu. 42. 35, I gather the centurions were appointed before this. But Polybius says this was done some time after the levy.
[6] The common soldier, legionary or otherwise, is called *gregarius.* For 'officer' the Romans had no word.

found no match for the crack Campanian horse. They were armed with a round shield, leather helmet, some light javelins and the short Spanish sword[1], and were trained to ride in charge or retreat behind the cavalrymen: when it came to a standing fight, they leaped down and fought between the ranks of horsemen. The Velites are mentioned for the last time in connection with this war[2]. Each of the other classes was divided into ten units, called *manipuli*[3], each containing two centuries[4]. The commanders of these last, the centurions, were the pick of the Roman army. They were appointed by the tribunes as being 'not so much bold and fond of danger as men with a faculty for command, absolutely steady, with courage of the deep-lying rather than showy kind, men who will not be in a hurry to begin the battle but in the face of superior numbers will die in defence of their post[5].' In many respects these centurions[6] correspond to our own non-commissioned officers: they came from the ranks, and often had to make up for the incapacity of young officers by their own knowledge of the work. On the other hand they sometimes tyrannised over the men, making excessive use of their right to inflict corporal punishment on them[7]. In every legion was a chief centurion, the *primipilus*[8], who was regularly admitted to the

[1] 105. 2 *uelitaribus armis.*
[2] 46. 7. The practice itself was still resorted to in case of need: cp. the tactics of Iug. in 59. 3.
[3] lit. 'handful' (*manus pleo*), and regularly used e.g. of a wisp of straw. A maniple of Triarii would contain 60, the others 120 men. Each had a *signum*: these *ordines*, often mentioned, sometimes along with the *signa* (45. 2, 51. 1, 80. 2, 97. 5), sometimes alone (49. 6, 50. 4, 101. 2), probably denote maniples, though *ordo* generally means a century.
[4] 91. 1 *per centurias.*
[5] So Polybius tells us.
[6] Centurions are mentioned in 38. 3, 66. 3, 93. 8.
[7] For this purpose they carried a staff of vine wood (*uitis*). Tacitus tells us of one who was called 'old Give-us-another' (*cedo alteram*) by the men, from his habit of breaking staves over their backs.
[8] 38. 6 *centurio primi pili.* Such a case of treachery as is there related is rare indeed among these men.

general's Council[1] and whose position was the highest to be reached, under ordinary circumstances, by one who started in the ranks. These chief centurions were often great personages in the provincial towns to which they retired on getting their discharge. The first maniple of the *hastati* was called *primus* (*ordo*) *hastatus*, the next *secundus hastatus* and so on[2]. Then come *primus princeps* and the rest of the maniples of the *principes*. The maniples of the triarii were called *pili*, so that here we begin with *primus pilus*. As for the centurions in each maniple, one probably ranked as superior to the other: this was certainly so in the *primus pilus*, one of whose centurions was the chief centurion of the legion referred to above[3]. In battle, in earlier times at least, the troops stood in a triple line; first the *hastati*, then the *principes*[4], last the *triarii*: the first two lines with the distinctive Roman javelin (*pilum*), the rear rank with the spear. But in Caesar's time all troops carried the *pilum*, though the names of the three classes still remained to denote the centuries. We know Marius introduced an improvement in the construction of the *pilum*[5]: perhaps he extended

[1] So Polybius tells us. In Caesar we find the centurions of the *primi ordines* admitted here, but it is quite uncertain what these words mean. [It seems assumed that they cannot mean 'first centuries of each legion.']

[2] Liu. 42. 34 *mihi decimum ordinem hastatum adsignauit.*

[3] The centuries of a maniple were distinguished as *prior* and *posterior*: Liu. l.c. *cui primum hastatum prioris centuriae adsignaret... mihi primus princeps prioris centuriae est adsignatus.* Yet Polybius seems to carefully avoid saying that one of the two centurions commanded the maniple. In the case of the *primus pilus* matters are complicated by the fact that we never find a *primus pilus prioris centuriae* or a *primus pilus posterioris centuriae* mentioned, but only the *primus pilus*. In later times it appears there *was* only one centurion for it, but in earlier times the authorities regularly speak of 60 centurions.

[4] At a still earlier period the *hastati* doubtless came second, and the *principes* meant what it should mean, 'men of the front rank.'

[5] The iron head of the javelin was fastened by pins to the wooden shaft. M. had one of these pins made of wood, so that when the javelin stuck in the shield of an enemy the wooden nail would break and the iron one would bend, and the heavy wooden shaft instead of standing straight out would hang down and encumber the man.

its use to all files, but this is not certain, and there is nothing in the Iugurtha to prove how they were armed at the time of this war. For marching and other purposes three maniples (one of each class) were sometimes grouped together to form a separate unit, to which the name of *cohort* was given. In Caesar's time indeed this cohort, and not the maniple, was the regular fighting unit. Doubtless with enemies like the Gauls, who relied on at once shattering the Roman line, it was found necessary to strengthen its unit. In the Iugurtha we find the manipular arrangement still in force under Metellus[1]: cohorts are however mentioned as being detached, in battle or otherwise, for special purposes[2].

The only other body of Roman troops to be found in the army was the general's bodyguard—*cohors praetoria*, introduced, we are told, by the younger Scipio. The word *cohors* implies that it consisted, at least mainly, of infantry: Scipio and Marius however seem to have preferred cavalry[3]. One authority tells us that Scipio selected for this duty his friends and clients, another says that he chose the bravest men of the army. Evidently the immediate claims of friendship counted before the remote ones of ultimate safety: Sallust implies that Marius was an exception in selecting his guard with regard to their courage. This institution developed greatly in later times, eventually becoming the Praetorian Guard of Imperial times.

Whenever a levy was held, the various *socii*, or Italian

[1] 49. 6 *aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores...dispertit.*

[2] 51. 3 (posted 'against the enemy's infantry'), 100. 4 (sent *excubitum in portas*). *Cohortes expeditae* are thrice mentioned, but are perhaps not legionary cohorts at all (contrast *expediti manipuli* in 100. 2). In 55. 4, 56. 3 the simple *cohortes* tells us nothing, except that infantry are meant.

[3] Appian calls the force of Scipio ἴλη—the exact equivalent of *turma* in Sallust (*cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis quam familiarissumis parauerat* 98. 1).

communities allied with Rome (and foremost among them the Latin colonies[1]), had to supply troops, infantry and cavalry, according to the terms of the treaty between them and the Capital. The actual levying was left to them: each community sent its contingent (*cohors*[2]) under a native commander (*praefectus*) to a *rendez-vous* appointed by the consul. The force thus raised did not form an independent army, but was attached to the consular ones: to each consular army, consisting normally of 8400 infantry and 600 cavalry, we find in the books of Livy dealing with the first half of the second century B.C. allied troops added to the amount of 10 to 15 thousand infantry, and 5 to 8 hundred cavalry. The tendency to require more men from the allies than they supplied themselves grew with the Romans—especially when their own cavalry began to be useless. Polybius in his account of the Roman camp says that the number of the allied cavalry was three times that of the Roman. This pressure of military service upon them was of course one of the grievances that brought on the great Italian war of the next century[3]. In the battle-line the *socii* fought on the flanks, and the force for a consular army was accordingly divided into two *alae*—left and right wings. Each *ala* was under six *praefecti socium*[4], Roman officers appointed by the

[1] Hence *socii et nomen* (*nomenque*) *Latinum* 39. 2, 43. 4 and (quite exceptionally) *Latium et socii* 95. 1. The full expression of 40. 2 *homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos* is also very unusual.

[2] *Paeligna cohors* 105. 2: see also below, p. xxix[2].

[3] Especially as their position in the army was one of inferiority. *Prouocatio*, the right of appeal against a capital sentence was open to the lowest Roman soldier, but not to the Latin officer, as the case of Turpilius shews (ch. 69). [On the other hand I do not think it has been noted that this man had received great power from the general, being (as 66. 3 shews) in command over the Roman tribunes.]

[4] That they were 6 in number, not 3, is probable in itself and, I believe with Mommsen (St. R. 3. 675), consistent with Polybius' account. These *praefecti socium* are apparently called *pr. cohortium* in 46. 7—unless indeed the native commanders referred to above are there meant.

consul and corresponding to the tribunes of the legion. One would also expect to find the *ala*, like the legion, divided into companies of equal size, and it is generally assumed by modern scholars[1] that it did contain 10 such companies, called *cohortes*. If so, this kind of cohort must at least sometimes have been distinct from the cohort described above, the contingent of a community, for these (as there hinted) cannot all have been of the same strength. The whole question is very uncertain, no information being really accessible in the ancient writers: all we *do* know is that to allied, and indeed all non-Roman infantry, the word *cohors* is regularly applied in contra-distinction to the legions and maniples of Rome[2]. The cavalry were divided, like those of Rome, into *turmae*[3].

From the times of the Punic wars the Romans also used the troops of foreign countries, especially those with which they were warring or had warred. These men served generally as mercenaries, and as light troops. The employment of this kind of forces became more and more common: in the Iugurtha we meet with Balearic slingers, Ligurian infantry, Numidian and Thracian horse[4].

According to some ancient authorities the terms *auxilia*, *auxiliarius* applied strictly speaking to these foreign troops alone, and was not used to denote the *socii*. Sallust however uses *auxilia*, not only, for brevity's sake, to denote Italian and foreign troops together, but even for those solely composed of Italians[5].

[1] Marquardt (St. V. 2. 398 sqq.) for example. He is anything but clear and leaves it quite doubtful whether he reckons two kinds of auxiliary cohort or not. The Dict. of Antiquities of course reproduces his account.

[2] See 58. 5 (*cohortes sociorum*), 99. 1 (where *cohortium* and *turmarum* are opposed to *legionum*). See also notes 4 and 5 below.

[3] See p. xxiii[4].

[4] Balearic slingers 105. 1 (cp. 49. 6, 94. 3, 100. 2), *cohors Ligurum* 38. 6, 77. 4, 100. 2, Numidian horse 68. 2, *turmae Thracum* 38. 6.

[5] Thus, not only such expressions as 43. 4, 84. 2, but even *ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia accersere* 39. 2. This makes it impossible

Of the Roman army as a working force this book of Sallust gives a vivid picture, and to it I refer the reader who has accompanied me in the examination of its constituent parts. There, apart from the pitched battles and stormings[1], and surprises[2], we may learn the nature and uses of their storm and siege apparatus[3], and note the care with which their best generals conducted their marches[4] and managed their camps[5]—the latter perhaps the most characteristic of all their institutions.—These are the points of which Polybius remarks with such enthusiasm: 'I cannot imagine anyone so indifferent to noble things, to really important things, as to refuse to take a little extra trouble to understand matters whose nature is such that, if once he hears them, he will know one of those things that are really worth knowing.' And the excellence of that army and its system is attested by the imitation with which their enemies, including Iugurtha himself, paid it the highest of tributes[6]. Not only he, but Arminius and Tacfarinas learnt how to fight Rome's legions by service in her army. And the conflict in which Rome and the Italy whose warriors she had trained at length engaged, was a conflict in which neither of the combatants were defeated.

to say what he means by *cohortes auxiliariae* (87. 1, 93. 2) or *equites auxiliarii* (46. 7, 90. 2, 100. 4), which may signify either non-Italian or non-Roman troops.

[1] Especially that of Zama, a lively description (ch. 57).

[2] As in 97. 3 sqq. (esp. *orbis facere* in § 5).

[3] *Arietes* (76. 6), *testudo* 94. 3, *tormenta* ib., *uineae* etc. 21. 3 (notes).

[4] Metellus in 46. 6, Marius in 100. 1.

[5] Metellus in 45. 2, Marius 100. 4. For the instructive phrase *castra munire* see on 44. 5.

[6] Observe (1) his Roman methods for storming Cirta 21. 3, (2) his *manipuli* and *turmae* 49. 2, (3) his *uelites* 59. 3, (4) his drilling of the Gaetulians (80. 2).

C.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE IUGURTHINE WAR[1].

133 B.C. Fall of Numantia: Iugurtha returns to Numidia (8. 2).

118 Death of Micipsa (11. 2).

118–112 Murder of Hiempsal (12); war between Iug. and Adherbal followed by Roman interference (13–16); on the renewal of hostilities Adherbal is blockaded in Cirta and two embassies[2] from Rome do nothing (20–25).

112 Fall of Cirta (26).

111 (Consuls: Scipio Nasica and Bestia.)
War declared with Iug.[3] Bestia invades Numidia, but is bribed and gives Iug. favourable terms. On his return (for the elections) Memmius attacks him. Iug. is brought to Rome, but owing to Baebius' veto, nothing is gained[4] (27–34).

110 (Consuls: Spurius Albinus and Minucius Rufus.)
Iug. gets Massiua murdered and is expelled from Rome. Albinus, beginning operations late in the year[5], has to

[1] So far as possible Sallust's account of this war is followed. The dates of events before 111 have to be inferred from the *Periochae* or summaries of the last books of Livy, and this can only be done with approximate accuracy. The dates of the consuls are certain. The chief other authorities are (1) Velleius (lived under Tiberius), (2) the Greek Plutarch in his life of Marius, (3) Eutropius (4th century), (4) Orosius (5th century). The information given by the three Latin writers is very meagre, but is probably based on Livy's account. Cicero, Gellius and others also refer to *incidents* of the war.

[2] That Cirta itself fell in 112 is tolerably certain, as the war doubtless followed quickly after that event. And the second embassy probably preceded the fall by only a short interval (Adherbal was in great straits, and had been besieged five months, before it set out: see 24. 3).

[3] S. certainly implies that this was done in 112. But Val. Max. says definitely (7. 5. 2) *P. Scipio Nasica qui consul Iugurthae bellum indixit.*

[4] As Memmius was still in office (as tribune) this event must be dated not later than Dec. 9 of this year.

[5] 36. 1 distinctly implies this: see note.

return (for the elections) before achieving anything of importance. He leaves his brother Aulus in command. Elections hindered by the action of two tribunes (35—37. 2).

Aulus' winter campaign[1] and capitulation. On the rejection of the latter by the senate, Spurius (after holding the elections) returns to the province (37. 3—39).

Metellus receives charge of the war (43. 1).

109 (Consuls: Metellus and Silanus.)

The *rogatio Mamilia* becomes *lex*[2] (40).

Metellus in Africa (44—45). First campaign (46—60), in which he occupies Vaga (47), engages Iug. at the Muthul (48. 3—53), suffers a surprise at the hands of Iug.'s cavalry (54. 9, 10) and takes Sicca (56), but has to abandon the siege of Zama[3] (57—61. 1).

Winter-quarters in the *prouincia*: Iug. begins, and then abandons, surrender (61. 4—62). Marius applies for leave of absence to stand for the consulship[4] but is refused: his change of conduct (63—65).

108 Vaga revolts, but is promptly recovered. Failure of Bomilcar's plot against the life of Iug. (66—72).

Marius leaves for Rome and is elected consul[5] (73).

[1] S. definitely says this was in Jan. of next year. But see on 37. 3.

[2] The rogatio may have been *proposed* in 110: the exact date when, after long opposition, it became *lex* is unknown.

[3] *uidet...iam aestatem exactam esse* 61. 1.

[4] It is practically impossible to know when we pass from 109 to 108 (see p. xxxiii[5]), and some of these events here chronicled under one year may belong to the other. S. however implies in 62. 9, 10 that Iug.'s resumption of hostilities and the senate's resolution as to the province were almost simultaneous, and the latter seems to have been decided at the beginning of the year. And the revolt of Vaga certainly followed Iug.'s renewal of war.

[5] S. certainly means that he left before the campaign began: his words in 73. 1 imply it, and he makes him take no part in the campaign. Plutarch however gives quite a different account.

Metellus' second campaign (74—83), in which he takes Thala (75, 76) and garrisons Leptis (77—79) and forces Iug. to ally himself with Bocchus (80, 81), but on hearing that he is superseded by Mancinus' law[1] takes no further active measures.

107 Marius, as consul, admits all Romans to the legions and crosses to Africa. Finding the enemy unwilling to meet him he marches to Capsa late in the summer[2] and takes it (84—91). *During this year he must have been joined by Sulla* (95. 1): *winter-quarters are not mentioned by S.*[3]

[106[4]] Marius marches to the neighbourhood of the Muluccha and takes a fortress (92. 5—94). On his way back to winter-quarters he is twice attacked by the combined forces of Iug. and Bocchus (97—99, 101). Sulla interviews the latter, without immediate result (102).

Winter-quarters in the coast towns (100. 1, 103. 1). Marius takes the *turris regia* and grants a request from Bocchus to give his envoys safe conduct to Rome: they receive encouragement from the senate (103, 104).

[?105[5]] Marius, at the king's request, sends Sulla to him with the result that Iug. is at length treacherously surrendered to that officer (105—113).

105 (October) Battle of Arausio.

104 Marius, consul for the second time, celebrates his triumph.

[1] 82. 2 compared with 73. 7. Exactly when this law passed we cannot say, as we do not know whether Mancinus was tribune from Dec. 10, 109 or Dec. 10, 108 onwards.

[2] *aestatis extremum erat* 90. 1.

[3] For these points see p. xv.

[4] See p. xv.

[5] Here again we are passing imperceptibly into the year 105, as the allusion to the battle of Arausio as taking place *per idem tempus* (114. 1) shews. Cp. p. xxxii[4] above.

VARIATIONS FROM JORDAN'S TEXT (third ed.).

	Jordan	*This edition*
1. 5	multaque	multumque
3. 1	[iis] fuit	fuit
4. 7	eis	his
10. 2	honorauisti	onerauisti
14. 1	adfinium loco	in adfinium locum
24	uiuere	iure
18. 9	ei	hi
28. 5	artes et animi	artes animi
32. 1	saepe in......	saepius
35. 10	urbem—inuenerit	'urbem—inuenerit'
47. 2	et si paterentur opportunitates	si paterentur et opportunitatis
53. 5	fessi	fessi laetique
67. 3	aut casu	an casu
70. 2	carum	clarum
73. 7	paulo......	paulo *ante senatus Metello Numidiam*
89. 7	idque ibi ut	id ibique et
	qua—agebant	quae—agebat
92. 1	incommodo......	incommodo peregit
3	plura......	plura *deserta*
8	praecisum......	praecisum *ea*
93. 3	faciundi......	faciundi animum uortit
94. 1	e centuriis	escensuri
95. 3	et Latinis	atque Latinis
	doctissumi	doctissume
97. 5	[ueteres nouique]......et ob ea	ueteres nouique ob ea *quae supra memoraui aeque*
100. 1	[coeperat in hiberna]......	coeperat in hiberna *proficiscitur: nam*
102. 14	actutum	ac tum

	Jordan	*This edition*
103. 1	Turrim Regiam	turrim regiam
5	auaritiae Romanorum	Romanorum auaritiae
104. 1	ubi	postquam
	infecto	confecto
	ab Utica	[ab Tucca]
	Billienum	Bellienum
	praetorem	praetorem Utica
2	legatis	in quis legatis
	fit	fieret
3	omnibus	omnibus rebus
	eis	his
4	Romae	Romaeque
105. 1	petiuerat	petiuit
	de conmunibus	conmunibus
2	peditum item (*before* funditorum)	*omitted*
	aduorsus	aduorsum
108. 2	consulta—habere *after* deligeret	*after* pertimesceret
	consulta	consulto
3	Romanum	Romanos
109. 1	pauca	pauca se
	aut nullo	nullo
3	tum	nunc
	sunt	*omitted*
110. 2	indigui	indigus
3	animum meum	meum animum
111. 1	polliceatur	polliceretur
	faciundum	faciundum ei
	tunc	tum
114. 1	illimque	illique et

There are several misprints in Jordan: 95. 3 *iam prope* for *prope iam*, 98. 1 *eo aspero* for *eo tam aspero*, 103. 5 *fama* for *famam*, 106. 3 *ac* omitted, 109. 1 *Apare* for *Aspare*, 111. 1 *pateret* for *peteret*, 112. 2 *ommia*, 112. 3 *hominum* for *hominem*. The first four are faithfully reproduced in the only English edition I have seen.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY.

Archaic or other unusual spellings in which I have followed Jordan may cause beginners some trouble. The following should be noted:

CU is printed for *quu*: *relicum*, *secuntur*.

I ,, in the acc. pl. of *i*-stems (e.g. *omnis* but *homines*).

,, for *e*: *benificium*.

O ,, for *e*: *uorto* (compounds and derivatives: e.g. *aduorsus*, *uniuorsus*, *uorsor*), *uoster*.

,, for *u*: regularly after *u* (e.g. *nouos*, *uolnus*, etc.).

P ,, for *b*: *op-* for *ob-* (e.g. *optineo*).

U ,, for *e*: in gerunds and gerundives.

,, for *i*: in *-umus*, *-ume* of superlatives; *aestumo*, *finitumus*; *lubet* (compounds and derivatives).

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE BELLO IUGURTHINO

LIBER.

Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod 1
inbecilla atque aeui breuis forte potius quam uirtute regatur.
nam contra reputando neque maius aliud neque praesta- 2
bilius inuenias, magisque naturae industriam hominum quam
uim aut tempus deesse. sed dux atque imperator uitae mor- 3
talium animus est: qui ubi ad gloriam uirtutis uia grassatur,
abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortuna eget,
quippe probitatem, industriam aliasque artis bonas neque
dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. sin captus prauis cupi- 4
dinibus ad inertiam et uoluptates corporis pessum datus est
perniciosa lubidine paulisper usus, ubi per socordiam uires
tempus ingenium diffluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur:
suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. quod 5
si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio
aliena ac nihil profutura multumque etiam periculosa petunt,
neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus et eo magni-
tudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.
nam uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore et anima 2
est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia
animi naturam secuntur. igitur praeclara facies, magnae 2

diuitiae, ad hoc uis corporis et alia omnia huiuscemodi breui
dilabuntur, at ingeni egregia facinora, sicuti anima, inmortalia
3 sunt. postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium
sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt:
animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis, agit
4 atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. quo magis prauitas
eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum
et ignauiam aetatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque
melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu
atque socordia torpescere sinunt, cum praesertim tam multae
uariaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3 Verum ex eis magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis
cura rerum publicarum minume mihi hac tempestate cupi-
unda uidentur, quoniam neque uirtuti honos datur, neque illi,
2 quibus per fraudem fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. nam
ui quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis
et delicta corrigas, tamen inportunum est, cum praesertim
omnes rerum mutationes caedem fugam aliaque hostilia por-
3 tendant. frustra autem niti neque aliud se fatigando nisi
4 odium quaerere extremae dementiae est. nisi forte quem
inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet potentiae paucorum
decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

4 Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur, in
2 primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. cuius de
uirtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul ne per
insolentiam quis existumet memet studium meum laudando
3 extollere. atque ego credo fore qui, quia decreui procul a re
publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen
inertiae inponant, certe quibus maxuma industria uidetur
4 salutare plebem et conuiuiis gratiam quaerere. qui si reputa-
uerint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim et
quales uiri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera
hominum in senatum peruenerint, profecto existumabunt me

magis merito quam ignauia iudicium animi mei mutauisse,
maiusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis
rei publicae uenturum. nam saepe ego audiui Q. Maxu- 5
mum, P. Scipionem, praeterea ciuitatis nostrae praeclaros
uiros solitos ita dicere: cum maiorum imagines intuerentur,
uehementissume sibi animum ad uirtutem accendi. scilicet 6
non ceram illam neque figuram tantam uim in sese habere,
sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis uiris in
pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam uirtus eorum
famam atque gloriam adaequauerit. at contra quis est 7
omnium his moribus, quin diuitiis et sumptibus, non pro-
bitate neque industria cum maioribus suis contendat? etiam
homines noui, qui antea per uirtutem soliti erant nobilitatem
anteuenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus
ad imperia et honores nituntur: proinde quasi praetura et 8
consulatus atque alia omnia huiuscemodi per se ipsa clara
et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui ea
sustinent uirtus est. uerum ego liberius altiusque processi, 9
dum me ciuitatis morum piget taedetque. nunc ad incep-
tum redeo.

Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum **5**
Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et
atrox uariaque uictoria fuit, dehinc quia tunc primum super-
biae nobilitatis obuiam itum est. quae contentio diuina et 2
humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque uecordiae processit, ut
studiis ciuilibus bellum atque uastitas Italiae finem faceret.
sed priusquam huiuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca 3
supra repetam, quo ad cognoscundum omnia inlustria
magis magisque in aperto sint.

Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium 4
Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes
maxume adtriuerat, Masinissa rex Numidarum in amicitiam
receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex

uirtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat.
ob quae, uictis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cuius
in Africa magnum atque late imperium ualuit, populus
Romanus quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat regi
5 dono dedit. igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta
nobis permansit. sed imperi uitaeque eius finis idem fuit.
6 dein Micipsa filius regnum solus optinuit, Mastanabale
7 et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. is Adherbalem et
Hiempsalem ex sese genuit, Iugurthamque filium Mastana-
balis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat,
priuatum dereliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi
habuit.

6 Qui ubi primum adoleuit, pollens uiribus, decora facie,
sed multo maxume ingenio ualidus, non se luxu neque
inertiae conrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est,
equitare, iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et cum
omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc
pleraque tempora in uenando agere, leonem atque alias feras
primus aut in primis ferire, plurumum facere, minumum
2 ipse de se loqui. quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus
fuerat, existumans uirtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore,
tamen postquam hominem adulescentem exacta sua aetate
et paruis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, uehe-
menter eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo uoluebat.
3 terrebat eum natura mortalium auida imperi et praeceps ad
explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae
liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris uiros spe praedae
transuorsos agit, ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham
accensa, ex quibus, si talem uirum dolis interfecisset, ne qua
7 seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat. his difficultatibus
circumuentus ubi uidet neque per uim neque insidiis opprimi
posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Iugur-
tha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum

obiectare periculis et eo modo fortunam temptare. igitur 2
bello Numantino Micipsa cum populo Romano equitum atque
peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans uel ostentando uirtutem uel
hostium saeuitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis,
quos in Hispaniam mittebat. sed ea res longe aliter ac ratus 3
erat euenit. nam Iugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio, 4
ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat,
et morem hostium cognouit, multo labore multaque cura,
praeterea modestissume parendo et saepe obuiam eundo
periculis in tantam claritudinem breui peruenerat, ut nostris
uehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. ac sane, 5
quod difficillumum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat
et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex prouidentia timorem,
alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.
igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, 6
in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti,
quippe cuius neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra
erat. huc adcedebat munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, 7
quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia con-
iunxerat.

Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere conplures noui **8**
atque nobiles, quibus diuitiae bono honestoque potiores
erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam
honesti, qui Iugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando
accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperi
Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maxumam uirtutem, Romae
omnia uenalia esse. sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. 2
Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse reuorti domum decreuit,
donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham
in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, ut potius
publice quam priuatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret
neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod
multorum esset. si permanere uellet in suis artibus, ultro

illi et gloriam et regnum uenturum; sin properantius pergeret,
9 suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum. sic locutus
cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit. earum
2 sententia haec erat. 'Iugurthae tui bello Numantino longe
maxuma uirtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse.
nobis ob merita sua carus est: ut idem senatui et populo
Romano sit, summa ope nitemur. tibi quidem pro nostra
amicitia gratulor. en habes uirum dignum te atque auo
3 suo Masinissa.' igitur rex ubi ea, quae fama acceperat, ex
litteris imperatoris ita esse cognouit, cum uirtute tum gratia
uiri permotus flexit animum suum et Iugurtham benificiis
uincere aggressus est, statimque eum adoptauit et testamento
4 pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. sed ipse paucos post
annos, morbo atque aetate confectus, cum sibi finem uitae
adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adher-
bale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur huiuscemodi uerba cum
Iugurtha habuisse.

10 'Paruom ego, Iugurtha, te amisso patre sine spe, sine
opibus in regnum meum accepi, existumans non minus me
tibi, quam liberis, si genuissem, ob benificia carum fore.
2 neque ea res falsum me habuit. nam, ut alia magna et
egregia tua omittam, nouissume rediens Numantia meque
regnumque meum gloria onerauisti, tuaque uirtute nobis
Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti: in Hispania nomen
familiae renovatum est. postremo, quod difficillumum inter
3 mortalis est, gloria inuidiam uicisti. nunc, quoniam mihi
natura finem uitae facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem
moneo obtestorque te, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui,
benificio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas, neu malis alienos
4 adiungere quam sanguine coniunctos retinere. non exercitus
neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, uerum amici, quos
neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas: officio et fide
5 pariuntur. quis autem amicior quam frater fratri, aut quem

alienum fidum inuenies, si tuis hostis fueris? equidem ego 6
uobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis, sin mali, inbe-
cillum. nam concordia paruae res crescunt, discordia maxu-
mae dilabuntur. ceterum ante hos te, Iugurtha, qui aetate 7
et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eueniat prouidere decet.
nam in omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit
iniuriam, tamen, quia plus potest, facere uidetur. uos 8
autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, obseruate talem hunc
uirum, imitamini uirtutem et enitimini, ne ego meliores
liberos sumpsisse uidear quam genuisse.'

Ad ea Iugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat 11
et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore
benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. 2
postquam illi more regio iusta magnifice fecerant, reguli in
unum conuenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis discep-
tarent. sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox 3
et iam antea ignobilitatem Iugurthae, quia materno genere
inpar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit, ne medius
ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Iugurtha
foret. dein tamen ut aetati concederet fatigatus a fratre, 4
uix in partem alteram transductus est. ibi cum multa de 5
administrando imperio dissererent, Iugurtha inter alias res
iacit, oportere quinquenni consulta et decreta omnia re-
scindi: nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam
parum animo ualuisse. tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi 6
respondit: nam ipsum illum tribus proxumis annis adopta-
tione in regnum peruenisse. quod uerbum in pectus Iugur- 7
thae altius quam quisquam ratus erat descendit. itaque ex 8
eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare, atque ea
modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum
caperetur. quae ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur ani- 9
mus ferox, statuit quouis modo inceptum perficere.

Primo conuentu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoraui, 12

propter dissensionem placuerat diuidi thesauros finisque
2 imperi singulis constitui. itaque tempus ad utramque rem
decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. reguli
interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere.
3 sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte eius domo utebatur,
qui proxumus lictor Iugurthae carus acceptusque ei semper
fuerat. quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat
inpellitque uti tamquam sua uisens domum eat, portarum
clauis adulterinas paret (nam uerae ad Hiempsalem refere-
bantur): ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna
4 manu uenturum. Numida mandata breui conficit, atque,
5 uti doctus erat, noctu Iugurthae milites introducit. qui
postquam in aedis inrupere, diuorsi regem quaerere, dor-
mientis alios, alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca
abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere:
cum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio muli-
eris ancillae, quo initio pauidus et ignarus loci perfugerat.
6 Numidae caput eius, uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham referunt.
13 Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam breui
diuolgatur. Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micip-
sae fuerant, metus inuadit. in duas partis discedunt Numi-
dae: plures Adherbalem secuntur, sed illum alterum bello
2 meliores. igitur Iugurtha quam maxumas potest copias
armat, urbis partim ui, alias uoluntate imperio suo adiungit,
3 omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam
legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et
fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum parabat armis
4 contendere. sed ubi res ad certamen uenit, uictus ex proelio
5 profugit in prouinciam ac deinde Romam contendit. tum
Iugurtha patratis consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potie-
batur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere
populum Romanum neque aduorsus iram eius usquam nisi
6 in auaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. itaque

paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam legatos
mittit, quis praecipit, primum uti ueteres amicos muneribus
expleant, deinde nouos adquirant, postremo quaecumque
possint largiundo parare ne cunctentur. sed ubi Romam 7
legati uenere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque,
quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna
munera misere, tanta conmutatio incessit, ut ex maxuma
inuidia in gratiam et fauorem nobilitatis Iugurtha ueniret.
quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti singulos ex senatu 8
ambiundo nitebantur, ne grauius in eum consuleretur.
igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus 9
utrisque datur. tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum
accepimus.

'Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi **14**
praecepit, ut regni Numidiae tantum modo procurationem
existumarem meam, ceterum ius et imperium eius penes uos
esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maxumo usui
esse populo Romano; uos mihi cognatorum, uos in adfinium
locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in uostra amicitia exercitum,
diuitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. quae cum prae- 2
cepta parentis mei agitarem, Iugurtha, homo omnium quos
terra sustinet sceleratissumus, contempto imperio uostro
Masinissae me nepotem et iam ab stirpe socium atque
amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit.
atque ego, patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum uentu- 3
rus eram, uellem potius ob mea quam ob maiorum meorum
benificia possem a uobis auxilium petere, ac maxume deberi
mihi benificia a populo Romano quibus non egerem, secun-
dum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. sed 4
quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi
in manu fuit Iugurtha qualis foret, ad uos confugi, patres
conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrumum est, cogor prius
oneri quam usui esse. ceteri reges aut bello uicti in 5

amicitiam a uobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus
societatem uostram adpetiuerunt. familia nostra cum
populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit,
quo tempore magis fides eius quam fortuna petunda erat.
6 quorum progeniem uos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me
7 nepotem Masinissae frustra a uobis auxilium petere. si ad
impetrandum nihil causae haberem praeter miserandam
fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis
potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes
expecto, tamen erat maiestatis populi Romani prohibere
iniuriam neque pati cuiusquam regnum per scelus crescere.
8 uerum ego eis finibus eiectus sum, quos maioribus meis
populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et auos meus una
uobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. uostra
benificia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, uos in mea
9 iniuria despecti estis. eheu me miserum! hucine, Micipsa
pater, benificia tua euasere ut, quem tu parem cum liberis
tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissumum stirpis tuae
extinctor sit? numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit?
10 semperne in sanguine ferro fuga uorsabitur? dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, iure omnia saeua patiebamur:
hostes ab latere, uos amici procul, spes omnis in armis
erat. postquam illa pestis ex Africa eiecta est, laeti
pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi
11 forte quem uos iussissetis. ecce autem ex inprouiso Iugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese
ecferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto,
primum regnum eius sceleris sui praedam fecit, post, ubi
me eisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam uim
aut bellum expectantem in imperio uostro, sicut uidetis,
extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis
12 effecit, ut ubiuis tutius quam in meo regno essem. ego
sic existumabam, patres conscripti, uti praedicantem

audiueram patrem meum: qui uostram amicitiam diligenter
colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maxume tutos esse. quod in familia nostra fuit, prae- 13
stitit, uti in omnibus bellis adesset uobis: nos uti per otium
tuti simus, in uostra manu est, patres conscripti. pater 14
nos duos fratres reliquit, tertium Iugurtham benificiis suis
ratus est coniunctum nobis fore. alter eorum necatus
est, alterius ipse ego manus inpias uix effugi. quid agam? 15
aut quo potissumum infelix adcedam? generis praesidia
omnia extincta sunt. pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit. fratri, quem minume decuit, propincus per scelus
uitam eripuit. adfinis, amicos, propinquos ceteros meos
alium alia clades obpressit: capti ab Iugurtha pars in
crucem acti, pars bestiis obiecti sunt, pauci, quibus relicta
est anima, clausi in tenebris cum maerore et luctu morte
grauiorem uitam exigunt. si omnia, quae aut amisi aut ex 16
necessariis aduorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen,
si quid ex inprouiso mali accidisset, uos inplorarem, patres
conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi ius et iniurias
omnis curae esse decet. nunc uero exul patria, domo, 17
solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam
aut quos adpellem? nationesne an reges? qui omnes familiae
nostrae ob uostram amicitiam infesti sunt. an quoquam
mihi adire licet, ubi non maiorum meorum hostilia monumenta pluruma sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest,
qui aliquando uobis hostis fuit? postremo Masinissa nos 18
ita instituit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi
populum Romanum, ne societates neu foedera noua acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in uostra amicitia
fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidundum
nobis esse. uirtute ac dis uolentibus magni estis et opu- 19
lenti, omnia secunda et oboedientia sunt: quo facilius
sociorum iniurias curare licet. tantum illud uereor, ne 20

quos priuata amicitia Iugurthae parum cognita transuorsos
agat, quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare
uos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita causa statuatis:
fingere me uerba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno
21 manere. quod utinam illum, cuius inpio facinore in has
miserias proiectus sum, eadem haec simulantem uideam,
et aliquando aut apud uos aut apud deos inmortalis rerum
humanarum cura oriatur: ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus
suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus
inpietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque
22 miseriarum grauis poenas reddat. iam iam frater, animo
meo carissume, quamquam tibi inmaturo et unde minume
decuit uita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis quam dolen-
23 dum puto casum tuum. non enim regnum sed fugam,
exilium, egestatem et omnis has quae me premunt aerum-
nas cum anima simul amisisti. at ego infelix, in tanta
mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum
spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne iniurias
persequar ipse auxili egens an regno consulam, cuius uitae
24 necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. utinam emori
fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu iure contemptus
uiderer, si defessus malis iniuriae concessissem. nunc
25 neque uiuere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. patres
conscripti, per uos, per liberos atque parentes uostros, per
maiestatem populi Romani, subuenite mihi misero, ite
obuiam iniuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod
uostrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae
tabescere.'

15 Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Iugurthae
largitione magis quam causa freti paucis respondent:
Hiempsalem ob saeuitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum,
Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus
sit, queri quod iniuriam facere nequiuisset; Iugurtham ab

senatu petere, ne se alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus
esset, neu uerba inimici ante facta sua ponerent. deinde 2
utrique curia egrediuntur. senatus statim consulitur.
fautores legatorum, praeterea senatus magna pars gratia
deprauata Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Iugurthae uirtutem
extollere laudibus: gratia, uoce, denique omnibus modis pro
alieno scelere et flagitio sua quasi pro gloria nitebantur.
at contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequom diuitiis carius 3
erat, subueniundum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem seuere
uindicandam censebant, sed ex omnibus maxume Aemilius 4
Scaurus, homo nobilis, inpiger, factiosus, auidus potentiae,
honoris, diuitiarum, ceterum uitia sua callide occultans.
is postquam uidet regis largitionem famosam inpudentem- 5
que, ueritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia
inuidiam adcenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.
uicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae uero pretium aut **16**
gratiam anteferebat. decretum fit uti decem legati regnum, 2
quod Micipsa optinuerat, inter Iugurtham et Adherbalem
diuiderent. cuius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo
clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et
M. Fuluio Flacco interfectis acerrume uictoriam nobilitatis
in plebem exercuerat. eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae *in* 3
inimicis habuerat, tamen adcuratissume recepit, dando et
pollicendo multa perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus
suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. reliquos legatos 4
eadem uia aggressus plerosque capit: paucis carior fides
quam pecunia fuit. in diuisione, quae pars Numidiae 5
Mauretaniam attingit, agro uirisque opulentior, Iugurthae
traditur, illam alteram specie quam usu potiorem, quae
portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal
possedit.

Res postulare uidetur Africae situm paucis exponere **17**
et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit,

2 attingere. sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut
asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de
eis haud facile compertum narrauerim. cetera quam pau-
cissumis absoluam.

3 In diuisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia
Africam posuere, pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam
4 esse, sed Africam in Europa. ea finis habet ab occidente
fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis decliuem lati-
5 tudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. mare
saeuom, inportuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori,
6 arbore infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. genus
hominum salubri corpore, uelox, patiens laborum. pleros-
que senectus dissoluit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere:
nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat. ad hoc
7 malifici generis pluruma animalia. sed qui mortales initio
Africam habuerint, quique postea adcesserint, aut quo
modo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae
plerosque optinet, diuorsum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis,
qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est,
utique rem sese habere cultores eius terrae putant, quam
paucissumis dicam. ceterum fides eius rei penes auctores
erit.

18 Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incul-
tique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti
2 pecoribus. ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cuius-
quam regebantur: uagi, palantes quas nox coegerat sedes
3 habebant. sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri
putant, interiit, exercitus eius conpositus ex uariis gentibus,
amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium peten-
4 tibus, breui dilabitur. ex eo numero Medi, Persae et
Armenii, nauibus in Africam transuecti, proxumos nostro
5 mari locos occupauere, sed Persae intra Oceanum magis,
eique alueos nauium inuorsos pro tuguriis habuere, quia

neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi aut
mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua com- 6
mercio prohibebant. ei paulatim per conubia Gaetulos 7
secum miscuere et, quia saepe temptantes agros alia, deinde
alia loca petiuerant, semet ipsi Nomadas adpellauere.
ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia 8
illi uocant, oblonga incuruis lateribus tecta quasi nauium
carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armeniis adcessere Libyes 9
(nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole
magis, haud procul ab ardoribus), eique mature oppida
habuere: nam freto diuisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se
instituerant. nomen eorum paulatim Libyes conrupere, 10
barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. sed res 11
Persarum breui adoleuit ac postea nomine Numidae propter
multitudinem a parentibus digressi possedere ea loca, quae
proxuma Carthagine Numidia appellatur. deinde utrique 12
alteris freti finitumos armis aut metu sub imperium suum
coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere, magis ei, qui
ad nostrum mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gaetuli
minus bellicosi. denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab
Numidis possessa est: uicti omnes in gentem nomenque
imperantium concessere. postea Phoenices, alii multitu- **19**
dinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperi cupidine, sollici-
tata plebe et aliis nouarum rerum auidis, Hipponem,
Hadrumetum, Leptim aliasque urbis in ora marituma
condidere, eaeque breui multum auctae pars originibus suis
praesidio, aliae decori fuere. nam de Carthagine silere 2
melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare
tempus monet.

Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa 3
diuidit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon,
ac deinceps duae Syrtes interque eas Leptis, deinde Philae-
non arae, quem locum Aegyptum uorsus finem imperi

4 habuere Carthaginienses, post aliae Punicae urbes. cetera
loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent, proxumi
5 Hispania Mauri sunt. super Numidiam Gaetulos accepi-
6 mus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius uagos agitare; post
eos Aethiopas esse, dehinc loca exusta solis ardoribus.
7 igitur bello Iugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et finis
Carthaginiensium, quos nouissume habuerant, populus Ro-
manus per magistratus administrabat, Gaetulorum magna
pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Muluccham sub Iugurtha
erant, Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter
nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani, itemque nobis neque
8 bello neque pace antea cognitus. de Africa et eius incolis
ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

20 Postquam diuiso regno legati Africa decessere, et
Iugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum
sese uidet, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numan-
tiam acceperat, omnia Romae uenalia esse, simul et illorum
pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus ex-
2 pleuerat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. ipse acer,
bellicosus, at is quem petebat quietus, inbellis, placido
ingenio, opportunus iniuriae, metuens magis quam metu-
3 endus. igitur ex inprouiso finis eius cum magna manu
inuadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit,
aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu
4 adcedit, deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum
conuortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias
suas manu uindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore.
5 at ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitia
populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad
Iugurtham de iniuriis questum misit. qui tametsi contu-
meliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decreuit
quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea secus cesserat.
6 neque eo magis cupido Iugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui

totum eius regnum animo iam inuaserat. itaque non uti 7
antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu conparato
bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium
petere. ceterum qua pergebat urbis, agros uastare, praedas 8
agere: suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere. Adherbal **21**
ubi intellegit eo processum, uti regnum aut relincundum
esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et
Iugurthae obuius procedit. interim haud longe a mari 2
prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit, et, quia
diei extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. sed ubi
plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine
milites Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium inuadunt,
semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque.
Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni
multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis
moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque
patratum bellum foret. igitur Iugurtha oppidum circum- 3
sedit, uineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum
expugnare aggreditur, maxume festinans tempus legatorum
antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale
Romam missos audiuerat.

Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres 4
adulescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant,
senatus populique Romani uerbis nuntient uelle et censere
eos ab armis discedere, *de controuorsiis suis iure potius quam
bello disceptare*: ita seque illisque dignum esse. legati in **22**
Africam maturantes ueniunt, eo magis quod Romae, dum
proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae
audiebatur; sed is rumor clemens erat. quorum Iugurtha 2
accepta oratione respondit sibi neque maius quicquam
neque carius auctoritate senatus esse: ab adulescentia ita
se enisum ut ab optumo quoque probaretur: uirtute, non
malitia P. Scipioni summo uiro placuisse: ob easdem artis

a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum in regnum adoptatum
3 esse. ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo
4 animum suum iniuriam minus tolerare. Adherbalem dolis
uitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi conperisset, sceleri eius
obuiam isse. populum Romanum neque recte neque pro
bono facturum, si ab iure gentium sese prohibuerit. pos-
tremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam breui missurum.
5 ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non
23 fuit. Iugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque
propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo
atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris extruit easque prae-
sidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctisque aut per uim aut dolis
temptare, defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo
formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad uirtutem adrigere,
2 prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit
omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum,
auxili spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum
trahi non posse, ex eis qui una Cirtam profugerant duos
maxume impigros delegit. eos multa pollicendo ac miser-
ando casum suum confirmat uti per hostium munitiones
24 noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Nu-
midae paucis diebus iussa efficiunt. litterae Adherbalis
in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit.
2 'Non mea culpa saepe ad uos oratum mitto, patres
conscripti, sed uis Iugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido
extinguendi me inuasit, ut neque uos neque deos inmortalis
in animo habeat: sanguinem meum quam omnia malit.
3 itaque quintum iam mensem socius et amicus populi
Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris
mei benificia neque uostra decreta auxiliantur: ferro an
4 fame acrius urgear incertus sum. plura de Iugurtha
scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea (etiam antea expertus
5 sum parum fidei miseris esse): nisi tamen intellego illum

supra quam ego sum petere, neque simul amicitiam uostram
et regnum meum sperare. utrum grauius existumet, nemini
occultum est. nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem 6
meum, deinde patrio regno me expulit: quae sane fuerint
nostrae iniuriae, nihil ad uos. uerum nunc uostrum regnum 7
armis tenet; me, quem uos imperatorem Numidis posuistis,
clausum obsidet; legatorum uerba quanti fecerit, pericula
mea declarant. quid est reliquom nisi uis uostra, quo 8
moueri possit? nam ego quidem uellem et haec quae scribo 9
et illa quae antea in senatu questus sum uana forent potius
quam miseria mea fidem uerbis faceret. sed quoniam eo 10
natus sum, ut Iugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non iam
mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium
et cruciatus corporis deprecor. regno Numidiae, quod
uostrum est, uti lubet consulite: me manibus inpiis eripite,
per maiestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud
uos memoria remanet aui mei Masinissae.'

His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in Africam **25**
mittundum censerent et quam primum Adherbali subue-
niundum: de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam
legatis non paruisset. sed ab eisdem illis regis fautoribus 2
summa ope enisum est ne tale decretum fieret. ita bonum 3
publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, priuata gratia
deuictum. legantur tamen in Africam maiores natu nobiles, 4
amplis honoribus usi. in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo
supra memorauimus, consularis et tum senatus princeps.
ei, quod res in inuidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, 5
triduo nauim ascendere. dein breui Uticam adpulsi litteras
ad Iugurtham mittunt: quam ocissume ad prouinciam
adcedat, seque ad eum ab senatu missos. ille ubi accepit 6
homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audi-
uerat, contra inceptum suum uenisse, primo commotus
metu atque lubidine diuorsus agitabatur. timebat iram 7

senatus, ni paruisset legatis: porro animus cupidine caecus
8 ad inceptum scelus rapiebatur. uicit tamen in auido ingenio
9 prauom consilium. igitur exercitu circumdato summa ui
Cirtam inrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu
hostium aut ui aut dolis sese casum uictoriae inventurum.
10 quod ubi secus procedit, neque quod intenderat efficere
potest, ut prius quam legatos conveniret Adherbalis poti-
retur, ne amplius morando Scaurum quem plurumum metu-
ebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in prouinciam uenit.
11 ac tametsi senati uerbis graues minae nuntiabantur, quod
ab oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione
26 consumpta legati frustra discessere. ea postquam Cirtae
audita sunt, Italici, quorum uirtute moenia defensabantur,
confisi deditione facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani
inuiolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent uti seque et oppidum
Iugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo uitam paciscatur: de ceteris
2 senatui curae fore. at ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide
Iugurthae rebatur, tamen quia penes eosdem, si aduor-
saretur, cogundi potestas erat, ita uti censuerant Italici
3 deditionem facit. Iugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruci-
atum necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotia-
tores promiscue, uti quisque armatus obuius fuerat, interficit.

27 Quod postquam Romae cognitum est, et res in senatu
agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac saepe
gratia, interdum iurgiis trahundo tempus atrocitatem facti
2 leniebant. ac ni C. Memmius tribunus plebis designatus,
uir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum
edocuisset id agi ut per paucos factiosos Iugurthae scelus
condonaretur, profecto omnis inuidia prolatandis consul-
tationibus dilapsa foret: tanta uis gratiae atque pecuniae
3 regis erat. sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum
timet, lege Sempronia prouinciae futuris consulibus Numidia
4 atque Italia decretae. consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica,

L. Bestia: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obuenit.
deinde exercitus qui in Africam portaretur scribitur, stipen- 5
dium aliaque quae bello usui forent decernuntur. at **28**
Iugurtha, contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe cui Romae
omnia uenum ire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duos
familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit eisque, uti illis quos
Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit omnis mortalis
pecunia aggrediantur. qui postquam Romam aduentabant, 2
senatus a Bestia consultus est placeretne legatos Iugurthae
recipi moenibus, eique decreuere, nisi regnum ipsumque
deditum uenissent, uti in diebus proxumis decem Italia
decederent. consul Numidis ex senatus decreto nuntiari 3
iubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. interim 4
Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi homines nobilis,
factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore
sperabat. in quis fuit Scaurus, cuius de natura et habitu
supra memorauimus. nam in consule nostro multae bonae- 5
que artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis auaritia prae-
pediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis prouidens,
belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra pericula et insidias.
sed legiones per Italiam Regium atque inde Siciliam, porro 6
ex Sicilia in Africam transuectae. igitur Calpurnius initio, 7
paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est mul-
tosque mortalis et urbis aliquot pugnando cepit. sed ubi **29**
Iugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellique quod
administrabat asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger
auaritia facile conuorsus est. ceterum socius et administer 2
omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus, qui tametsi a
principio, plerisque ex factione eius conruptis, acerrume
regem inpugnauerat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono
honestoque in prauom abstractus est. sed Iugurtha primum 3
tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans sese ali-
quid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum. postea

uero quam participem negoti Scaurum accepit, in maxumam
spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis de
4 omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. ceterum interea fidei
causa mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum
Iugurthae Vagam. cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti,
quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperauerat, quoniam de-
5 ditionis mora indutiae agitabantur. igitur rex, uti consti-
tuerat, in castra uenit ac, pauca praesenti consilio locutus
de inuidia facti sui atque uti in deditionem acciperetur,
reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit. dein postero
die quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem
6 accipitur. sed uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti
triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum paruo argenti pondere
7 quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus
rogandos proficiscitur. in Numidia et exercitu nostro pax
agitabatur.

30 Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae
forent fama diuolgauit, Romae per omnis locos et con-
uentus de facto consulis agitari. apud plebem grauis
inuidia, patres solliciti erant: probarentne tantum flagitium
2 an decretum consulis subuorterent parum constabat. ac
maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius
3 Bestiae ferebatur, a uero bonoque inpediebat. at C.
Memmius, cuius de libertate ingeni et odio potentiae
nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras
senatus contionibus populum ad uindicandum hortari,
monere ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent,
multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere:
prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum incendebat.
4 sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmi facundia clara
pollensque fuit, decere existumaui unam ex tam multis
orationem eius perscribere, ac potissumum ea dicam, quae in
contione post reditum Bestiae huiuscemodi uerbis disseruit.

'Multa me dehortantur a uobis, Quirites, ni studium rei **31**
publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, uostra patientia, ius
nullum, ac maxume quod innocentiae plus periculi quam
honoris est. nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis 2
quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam
foede quamque inulti perierint uostri defensores, ut uobis
animus ab ignauia atque socordia conruptus sit, qui ne nunc 3
quidem obnoxiis inimicis exurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis
eos, quibus decet terrori esse. sed quamquam haec talia 4
sunt, tamen obuiam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit.
certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, 5
experiar. uerum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in uostra
manu situm est, Quirites. neque ego uos hortor, quod 6
saepe maiores uestri fecere, uti contra iniurias armati eatis.
nihil ui, nihil secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi
more praecipites eant. occiso Ti. Graccho, quem regnum 7
parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae
sunt. post C. Gracchi et M. Fului caedem item uostri
ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt. utriusque
cladis non lex, uerum lubido eorum finem fecit. sed sane 8
fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere. quidquid sine
sanguine ciuium ulcisci nequitur, iure factum sit. superi- 9
oribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et
populos liberos paucis nobilibus uectigal pendere, penes
eosdem et summam gloriam et maxumas diuitias esse.
tamen haec talia facinora inpune suscepisse parum habuere.
itaque postremo leges, maiestas uostra, diuina et humana
omnia hostibus tradita sunt. neque eos, qui ea fecere, 10
pudet aut paenitet, sed incedunt per ora uostra magnifici,
sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes,
proinde quasi ea honori, non praedae habeant. serui aere 11
parati iniusta imperia dominorum non perferunt, uos,
Quirites, in imperio nati, aequo animo seruitutem toleratis?

12 at qui sunt ei qui rem publicam occupauere? homines
sceleratissumi, cruentis manibus, inmani auaritia, nocentis-
sumi et eidem superbissumi, quibus fides, decus, pietas,
postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt.
13 pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones
iniustas, plerique caedem in uos fecisse pro munimento
14 habent. ita quam quisque pessume fecit, tam maxume
tutus est. metum ab scelere suo ad ignauiam uostram
transtulere, quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem
15 metuere in unum coegit. ‖ sed haec inter bonos amicitia,
16 inter malos factio est. quod si tam uos libertatis curam
haberetis quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto
neque res publica, sicuti nunc, uastaretur et benificia uostra
17 penes optumos, non audacissumos, forent. maiores uostri
parandi iuris et maiestatis constituendae gratia bis per
secessionem armati Auentinum occupauere: uos pro liber-
tate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nitemini—
atque eo uehementius, quo maius dedecus est parta amittere
quam omnino non parauisse? dicet aliquis 'quid igitur
18 censes?' uindicandum in eos qui hosti prodidere rem
publicam, non manu neque ui, quod magis uos fecisse quam
illis accidisse indignum est, uerum quaestionibus et indicio
19 ipsius Iugurthae. qui si dediticius est, profecto iussis
uostris oboediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existuma-
bitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Iugurtham
scelerum inpunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae diuitiae,
20 ad rem publicam damna atque dedecora peruenerint. nisi
forte nondum etiam uos dominationis eorum satietas tenet,
et illa quam haec tempora magis placent, cum regna
prouinciae, leges iura iudicia, bella atque paces, postremo
diuina et humana omnia penes paucos erant, uos autem,
hoc est populus Romanus, inuicti ab hostibus, imperatores
omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere. nam

seruitutem quidem quis uostrum recusare audebat? atque 21
ego, tametsi uiro flagitiosissumum existumo inpune iniuriam
accepisse, tamen uos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere,
quoniam ciues sunt, aequo animo paterer, ni misericordia in
perniciem casura esset. nam et illis, quantum inportunitatis 22
habent, parum est inpune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi
licentia eripitur, et uobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum
intellegetis aut seruiundum esse aut per manus libertatem
retinendam. nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes 23
est? dominari illi uolunt, uos liberi esse, facere illi iniurias,
uos prohibere, postremo sociis nostris ueluti hostibus,
hostibus pro sociis utuntur. potestne in tam diuorsis 24
mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? qua re moneo hortorque 25
uos ne tantum scelus inpunitum omittatis. non peculatus
aerari factus est, neque per uim sociis ereptae pecuniae,
quae, quamquam grauia sunt, tamen consuetudine iam pro
nihilo habentur. hosti acerrumo prodita senatus auctoritas,
proditum imperium uostrum est, domi militiaeque res
publica uenalis fuit. quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi uindi- 26
catum in noxios, quid erit relicum, nisi ut illis, qui ea
fecere, oboedientes uiuamus? nam inpune quae lubet facere,
id est regem esse. neque ego uos, Quirites, hortor, ut 27
malitis ciuis uostros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne
ignoscundo malis bonos perditum eatis. ad hoc in re 28
publica multo praestat benifici quam malifici inmemorem
esse. bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi neglegas, at
malus inprobior. ad hoc si iniuriae non sint, haud saepe 29
auxili egeas.'

Haec atque alia huiuscemodi saepius dicendo Memmius **32**
populo persuadet uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad
Iugurtham mitteretur, eumque interposita fide publica
Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et reli-
quorum, quos pecuniae captae accersebat, delicta patefierent.

2 dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a
Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui,
3 pluruma et flagitiosissuma facinora fecere. fuere qui auro
conrupti elephantos Iugurthae traderent, alii perfugas
4 uendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta uis auaritiae
5 in animos eorum ueluti tabes inuaserat. at Cassius praetor,
perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate,
ad Iugurtham proficiscitur, eique timido et ex conscientia
diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano
dedisset, ne uim quam misericordiam eius experiri mallet.
priuatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non
minoris quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama
33 de Cassio erat. igitur Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu
2 quam maxume miserabili cum Cassio Romam uenit. ac
tametsi in ipso magna uis animi erat, confirmatus ab
omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat
quae supra diximus, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna
mercede parat, cuius inpudentia contra ius et iniurias omnis
3 munitus foret. at C. Memmius aduocata contione, quam-
quam regi infesta plebes erat et pars in uincula duci iubebat,
pars, nisi socios sceleris sui aperiret, more maiorum de
hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis consulens
sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare
4 fidem publicam per sese inuiolatam fore. post, ubi silen-
tium coepit, producto Iugurtha uerba facit: Romae Numi-
diaeque facinora eius memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque
ostendit: quibus iuuantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit
quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen uelle mani-
festa magis ex illo habere; si uerum aperiat, in fide et
clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam, sin
reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes con-
34 rupturum. deinde ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit et
Iugurtha respondere iussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis,

quem pecunia conruptum supra diximus, regem tacere
iubet, ac tametsi multitudo, quae in contione aderat,
uehementer accensa terrebat eum clamore, uoltu, saepe
inpetu atque aliis omnibus quae ira fieri amat, uicit tamen
inpudentia. ita populus ludibrio habitus ex contione 2
discedit, Iugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio
exagitabat, animi augescunt.

Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam nomine **35**
Massiua, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos, qui, quia in
dissensione regum Iugurthae aduorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta
et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex patria abierat. huic 2
Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q.
Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex
stirpe Masinissae sit, Iugurthamque ob scelera inuidia cum
metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. auidus 3
consul belli gerundi mouere quam senescere omnia malebat.
ipsi prouincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia euenerat. 4
quae postquam Massiua agitare coepit, neque Iugurthae in
amicis satis praesidi est, quod eorum alium conscientia,
alium mala fama et timor inpediebat, Bomilcari proxumo
ac maxume fido sibi imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat,
insidiatores Massiuae paret, ac maxume occulte, sin id
parum procedat, quouis modo, Numidam interficiat. Bo- 5
milcar mature regis mandata exequitur et per homines talis
negoti artifices itinera egressusque eius, postremo loca
atque tempora cuncta explorat. deinde, ubi res postulabat,
insidias tendit. igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem 6
parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massiuam aggreditur: illum
obtruncat, sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus et in
primis Albino consule, indicium profitetur. fit reus magis 7
ex aequo bonoque quam ex iure gentium Bomilcar, comes
eius qui Romam fide publica uenerat. at Iugurtha manu- 8
festus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra uerum niti,

quam animum aduortit supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam
9 inuidiam facti esse. igitur quamquam in priore actione ex
amicis quinquaginta uades dederat, regno magis quam
uadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit,
ueritus ne reliquos popularis metus inuaderet parendi sibi, si
de illo supplicium sumptum foret. et ipse paucis diebus
10 eodem profectus est, iussus a senatu Italia decedere. sed
postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respi-
ciens postremo dixisse: 'urbem uenalem et mature peritu-
ram, si emptorem inuenerit!'

36 Interim Albinus renouato bello commeatum, stipendium,
aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam
portare, ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod
tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quouis
2 modo bellum conficeret. at contra Iugurtha trahere omnia
et alias, deinde alias morae causas facere, polliceri dedi-
tionem ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo
post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis
3 mora consulem ludificare. ac fuere qui tum Albinum haud
ignarum consili regis existumarent, neque ex tanta pro-
perantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis quam
4 dolo crederent. sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum
dies aduentabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore
37 relicto Romam decessit. ea tempestate Romae seditionibus
2 tribuniciis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et
L. Annius tribuni plebis resistentibus conlegis continuare
magistratum nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia
3 inpediebat. ea mora in spem adductus Aulus (quem pro
praetore in castris relictum supra diximus) aut conficiundi
belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae,
milites mense Ianuario ex hibernis in expeditionem euocat,
magnisque itineribus hieme aspera peruenit ad oppidum
4 Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. quod quamquam et saeuitia

temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri
poterat (nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis
extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat)
tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet,
aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, uineas
agere, aggerem iacere, aliaque quae incepto usui forent
properare. at Iugurtha, cognita uanitate atque inperitia **38**
legati, subdole eius augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis
legatos, ipse quasi uitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites
exercitum ductare. denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, 2
uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese ueluti cedentem
insequeretur: ita delicta occultiora fore. interea per ho- 3
mines callidos diu noctuque exercitum temptabat, centuriones
ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent conrumpere,
alii signo dato locum uti desererent. quae postquam ex 4
sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de inprouiso multitudine
Numidarum Auli castra circumuenit. milites Romani per- 5
culsi tumultu insolito arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars
territos confirmare: trepidare omnibus locis. uis magna
hostium, caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum
anceps: postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto
erat. sed ex eo numero, quos paulo ante conruptos diximus, 6
cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis
gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi
pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet
acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidae
cuncti inrupere. nostri foeda fuga, plerique abiectis armis, 7
proxumum collem occupauerunt. nox atque praeda cas- 8
trorum hostis, quominus uictoria uterentur, remorata sunt.
deinde Iugurtha postero die cum Aulo in conloquio uerba 9
facit: tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum
teneret, tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum
foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub iugum missurum;

10 praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. quae
quamquam grauia et flagiti plena erant, tamen quia mortis
metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat pax conuenit.

39 Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque maeror
ciuitatem inuasere. pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars
insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes
infesti, ac maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod
armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiuerat.
2 ob ea consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris inuidiam ac deinde
periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat, et tamen
interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine
Latino auxilia accersere, denique omnibus modis festinare.
3 senatus ita uti par fuerat decernit, suo atque populi iniussu
4 nullum potuisse foedus fieri. consul inpeditus a tribunis
plebis, ne quas parauerat copias secum portaret, paucis
diebus in Africam proficiscitur (nam omnis exercitus, uti
conuenerat, Numidia deductus in prouincia hiemabat).
5 postquam eo uenit, quamquam persequi Iugurtham et
mederi fraternae inuidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus,
quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lasciuia
conruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.
40 interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis
rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur in eos,
quorum consilio Iugurtha senati decreta neglegisset, quique
ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias accepissent, qui
elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de pace
2 aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. huic rogationi
partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium inuidia pericula metu-
entes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa
et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos ac
maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos
3 inpedimenta parabant. sed plebes incredibile memoratu
est quam intenta fuerit quantaque ui rogationem iusserit,

magis odio nobilitatis cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura
rei publicae: tanta lubido in partibus erat. igitur, ceteris 4
metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse
supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam,
trepida etiam tum ciuitate, cum ex Mamilia rogatione tres
quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat uti ipse in eo numero
crearetur. sed quaestio exercita aspere uiolenterque ex 5
rumore et lubidine plebis. ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea
tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

Ceterum mos partium popularium et factionum ac 41
deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae
ortus est otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quae prima
mortales ducunt. nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus 2
et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem
publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis
certamen inter ciuis erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus
ciuitatem retinebat. sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, 3
scilicet ea, quae res secundae amant, lasciuia atque superbia
incessere. ita quod in aduorsis rebus optauerant otium, 4
postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. namque 5
coepere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubi-
dinem uortere: sibi quisque ducere trahere rapere. ita
omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt, res publica, quae
media fuerat, dilacerata. ceterum nobilitas factione magis 6
pollebat, plebis uis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine
minus poterat. paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur, 7
penes eosdem aerarium, prouinciae, magistratus, gloriae
triumphique erant: populus militia atque inopia urgebatur,
praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. interea 8
parentes aut parui liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori con-
finis erat, sedibus pellebantur. ita cum potentia auaritia sine 9
modo modestiaque inuadere, polluere et uastare omnia, nihil
pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitauit.

10 nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt qui ueram
gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponerent, moueri ciuitas et
42 dissensio ciuilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit. nam
postquam Ti. et C. Gracchus, quorum maiores Punico
atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant, uindicare
plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere,
nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen
Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes socie-
tatis a plebe dimouerat, Gracchorum actionibus obuiam
ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem in-
gredientem Gaium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumuirum
coloniis deducundis, cum M. Fuluio Flacco ferro necauerat.
2 et sane Gracchis cupidine uictoriae haud satis moderatus
3 animus fuit. sed bono uinci satius est quam malo more
4 iniuriam uincere. igitur ea uictoria nobilitas ex lubidine
sua usa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga extinxit, plusque in
relicum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. quae res
plerumque magnas ciuitatis pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros
5 uincere quouis modo et uictos acerbius ulcisci uolunt. sed
de studiis partium et omnis ciuitatis moribus si singillatim
aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res
maturius me deserat. quam ob rem ad inceptum redeo.

43 Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam
Metellus et Silanus consules designati prouincias inter se
partiuerant, Metelloque Numidia euenerat, acri uiro et
quamquam aduorso populi partium, fama tamen aequabili
2 et inuiolata. is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia
omnia sibi cum conlega ratus, ad bellum quod gesturus erat
3 animum intendit. igitur, diffidens ueteri exercitui, milites
scribere, praesidia undique accersere, arma, tela, equos et
cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc conmeatum
affatim, denique omnia, quae in bello uario et multarum
4 rerum egenti usui esse solent. ceterum ad ea patranda

senatus auctoritate, socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro
auxilia mittundo, postremo omnis ciuitas summo studio
adnitebatur. itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis 5
conpositisque in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe ciuium,
cum propter artis bonas tum maxume quod aduorsum
diuitias inuictum animum gerebat, et auaritia magistratuum
ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae hostium-
que auctae erant.

Sed ubi in Africam uenit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. **44**
Albino proconsule iners, inbellis, neque periculi neque
laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex
sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia
habitus. ita imperatori nouo plus ex malis moribus solli- 2
citudinis quam ex copia militum auxili aut spei bonae
adcedebat. statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestiuo- 3
rum tempus comitiorum mora inminuerat, et expectatione
euentus ciuium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum
attingere quam maiorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset.
nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, post- 4
quam decreuerat non egredi prouincia, quantum temporis
aestiuorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites statiuis castris
habebat, nisi cum odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare
subegerat. sed *neque muniebantur*, neque more militari 5
uigiliae deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat ab signis aberat.
lixae permixti cum militibus diu noctuque uagabantur et
palantes agros uastare, uillas expugnare, pecoris et mancipi-
orum praedas certantes agere, eaque mutare cum merca-
toribus uino aduecticio et aliis talibus, praeterea frumentum
publice datum uendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo
quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignauiae luxuriaeque
probra in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius. sed in **45**
ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hosti-
libus magnum et sapientem uirum fuisse conperior: tanta

temperantia inter ambitionem saeuitiamque moderatum.
2 namque edicto primum adiumenta ignauiae sustulisse, ne
quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum cibum
uenderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles gregarius
in castris neue in agmine seruum aut iumentum haberet;
ceteris arte modum statuisse. praeterea transuorsis itineribus
cotidie castra mouere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent uallo
atque fossa munire, uigilias crebras ponere et eas ipse cum
legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo
in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine
egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes incederent, miles
3 cibum et arma portaret. ita prohibendo a delictis magis
quam uindicando exercitum breui confirmauit.

46 Interea Iugurtha, ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis
accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus,
diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum ueram deditionem facere
2 conatus est. igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis
mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque uitam peterent, alia
3 omnia dederent populo Romano. sed Metello iam antea
experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum,
4 ingenio mobili, nouarum rerum auidum esse. itaque legatos
alium ab alio diuorsos aggreditur ac paulatim temptando,
postquam opportunos sibi cognouit multa pollicendo
persuadet, uti Iugurtham maxume uiuom, sin id parum
procedat, necatum sibi traderent. ceterum palam quae ex
5 uoluntate forent regi nuntiari iubet. deinde ipse paucis
diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit,
ubi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora
cultoresque in agris erant. ex oppidis et mapalibus prae-
fecti regis obuii procedebant parati frumentum dare, con-
meatum portare, postremo omnia quae imperarentur facere.
6 neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes
adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia,

illa deditionis signa ostentui credere et insidiis locum
temptari. itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item 7
funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat,
in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in
utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et
praefectis cohortium dispertiuerat, ut cum eis permixti
uelites, quocumque adcederent equitatus hostium, propul-
sarent. nam in Iugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia 8
locorum et militiae erat, ut absens an praesens, pacem an
bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur. erat **47**
haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum
Numidarum nomine Vaga, forum rerum uenalium totius
regni maxume celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari con-
sueuerant Italici generis multi mortales. huc consul simul 2
temptandi gratia, si paterentur, et opportunitatis loci prae-
sidium inposuit. praeterea imperauit frumentum et alia
quae bello usui forent conportare, ratus, id quod res
monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et conmeatu iuuaturam
exercitum et iam paratis rebus munimento fore. inter haec 3
negotia Iugurtha inpensius modo legatos supplices mittere,
pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque uitam omnia
Metello dedere. quos item uti priores consul inlectos ad 4
proditionem domum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat
neque abnuere neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa
legatorum expectare.

Iugurtha, ubi Metelli dicta cum factis conposuit ac se **48**
suis artibus temptari animaduortit, quippe cui uerbis pax
nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs
maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium
temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare.
igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem uictoriae adductus 2
ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium
generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli

3 anteuenit. erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in
diuisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine
Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum uiginti
tractu pari, uastus ab natura et humano cultu. sed ex eo
medio quasi collis oriebatur in inmensum pertingens, ues-
titus oleastro ac murtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae
4 humi arido atque harenoso gignuntur. media autem plani-
ties deserta penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca:
ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.
49 igitur in eo colle, quem transuorso itinere porrectum
docuimus, Iugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit, ele-
phantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit
eumque edocet quae ageret. ipse propior montem cum
2 omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos conlocat. dein
singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque
obtestatur uti memores pristinae uirtutis et uictoriae sese
regnumque suum ab Romanorum auaritia defendant: cum
eis certamen fore, quos antea uictos sub iugum miserint;
ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore
decuerint omnia suis prouisa, locum superiorem, ut pru-
dentes cum inperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes
3 cum belli melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati
intentique essent signo dato Romanos inuadere; illum diem
aut omnis labores et uictorias confirmaturum aut maxu-
4 marum aerumnarum initium fore. ad hoc uiritim, uti
quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat,
conmonefacere benifici sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare,
postremo *pro* cuiusque ingenio pollicendo, minitando, ob-
testando, alium alio modo excitare: cum interim Metellus,
ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu con-
5 spicatur. primo dubius quidnam insolita facies osten-
deret (nam inter uirgulta equi Numidaeque consederant,
neque plane occultati humilitate arborum et tamen incerti

quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa
militaria obscurati), dein breui cognitis insidiis paulisper
agmen constituit. ibi conmutatis ordinibus in dextero 6
latere, quod proxumum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis
aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios
dispertit, equitatum omnes in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro
tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transuorsis
principiis in planum deducit. sed ubi Numidas quietos 50
neque colle degredi animaduortit, ueritus ex anni tempore
et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium
legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum prae-
misit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existumans
hostis crebro impetu et transuorsis proeliis iter suum
remoraturos et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et
sitim militum temptaturos. deinde ipse pro re atque loco, 2
sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere, Marium post
principia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui
in agmine principes facti erant. at Iugurtha, ubi extremum 3
agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum uidet, praesidio
quasi duum milium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus
descenderat, ne forte cedentibus aduorsariis receptui ac post
munimento foret. dein repente signo dato hostis inuadit.
Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextra 4
temptare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Ro-
manorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus
animis obuii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio ipsi
modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut
conserundi manum copia erat: ante iam docti ab Iugurtha 5
equites, ubi Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non
confertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio
quam maxume diuorsi. ita numero priores, si ab perse- 6
quendo hostis deterrere nequiuerant, disiectos ab tergo aut
lateribus circumueniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis

quam campi fuerat, ea uero consueti Numidarum equi facile
inter uirgulta euadere, nostros asperitas et insolentia loci
51 retinebat. ceterum facies totius negoti uaria, incerta, foeda
atque miserabilis. dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi,
neque signa neque ordines obseruare, ubi quemque peri-
culum ceperat ibi resistere ac propulsare, arma, tela, equi,
uiri, hostes atque ciues permixti, nihil consilio neque imperio
2 agi, fors omnia regere. itaque multum diei processerat,
3 cum etiam tum euentus in incerto erat. denique omnibus
labore et aestu languidis Metellus, ubi uidet Numidas minus
instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit
et cohortis legionarias quattuor aduorsum pedites hostium
conlocat. eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa con-
4 sederat. simul orare et hortari milites, ne deficerent neu
paterentur hostis fugientis uincere: neque illis castra esse
neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in
5 armis omnia sita. sed ne Iugurtha quidem interea quietus
erat: circumire, hortari, renouare proelium et ipse cum
delectis temptare omnia, subuenire suis, hostibus dubiis
instare, quos firmos cognouerat eminus pugnando retinere.
52 eo modo inter se duo imperatores summi uiri certabant, ipsi
2 pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. nam Metello uirtus
militum erat, locus aduorsus, Iugurthae alia omnia praeter
3 milites opportuna. denique Romani, ubi intellegunt neque
sibi perfugium esse neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri
(et iam die uesper erat) aduorso colle, sicuti praeceptum
4 fuerat, euadunt. amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique.
pauci interiere, plerosque uelocitas et regio hostibus ignara
tutata sunt.

5 Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum
pedestrium praefectum ab Iugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum
Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequom locum
deducit ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat,

festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat
neque remittit quid ubique hostis ageret explorare. post- 6
quam Rutilium consedisse iam et animo uacuom accepit
simulque ex Iugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, ueritus, ne
legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem
quam diffidens uirtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium
itineri officeret, latius porrigit eoque modo ad Rutili castra
procedit. Romani ex inprouiso pulueris uim magnam **53**
animaduortunt: nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus
prohibebat. et primo rati humum aridam uento agitari,
post ubi aequabilem manere et, sicuti acies mouebatur,
magis magisque adpropinquare uident, cognita re prope-
rantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur,
consistunt. deinde, ubi propius uentum est, utrimque 2
magno clamore concurritur. Numidae tantummodo re- 3
morati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos
inpeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumueniri
uident, fugam faciunt ac plerique abiectis armis collis aut
noctis, quae iam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. elephanti 4
quattuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti.
at Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et 5
proelio fessi laetique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius
opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obuiam procedunt.
nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patie- 6
batur. ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul 7
inter se erant, strepitu uelut hostes aduentare, alteri apud
alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere, et paene
inprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque prae-
missi equites rem explorauissent. igitur pro metu repente 8
gaudium mutatur, milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta
edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum
fert. quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in uictoria uel
ignauis gloriari licet, aduorsae res etiam bonos detrectant.

54 Metellus in eisdem castris quatriduo moratus saucios
cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat,
uniuorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias, hortatur ad
cetera, quae leuia sint, parem animum gerant: pro uictoria
2 satis iam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. *et*
tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Iugurtha ubi
gentium aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset an exercitum
3 haberet, ut sese uictus gereret exploratum misit. at ille
sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat ibique
cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem sed hebetem
4 infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. id
ea gratia eueniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo om-
nium Numida ex fuga regem sequitur: quo cuiusque animus
fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiae ducitur: ita se
mores habent.

5 Igitur Metellus, ubi uidet regis etiam tum animum
ferocem esse, bellum renouari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine
geri non posset, praeterea inicum certamen sibi cum hos-
tibus, minore detrimento illos uinci quam suos uincere,
statuit non proeliis neque in acie, sed alio more bellum
6 gerundum. itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissuma pergit,
agros uastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut
sine praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici iubet,
alia omnia militum praedam esse. ea formidine multi
mortales Romanis dediti obsides, frumentum et alia quae
usui forent affatim praebita, ubicumque res postulabat
7 praesidium inpositum. quae negotia multo magis quam
8 proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant, quippe,
cuius spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur, et qui
sua loca defendere nequiuerat, in alienis bellum gerere.
9 tamen ex copia quod optumum uidebatur consilium capit:
exercitum plerumque in eisdem locis opperiri iubet, ipse
cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et auiis

itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente aggreditur.
eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo om- 10
nium intactus profugit, et Numidae, prius quam ex castris
subueniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proxumos collis discedunt.

Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli 55
rebus, ut seque et exercitum more maiorum gereret, in
aduorso loco uictor tamen uirtute fuisset, hostium agro
potiretur, Iugurtham magnificum ex Albini socordia spem
salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. itaque 2
senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis inmortalibus supplicia
decernere, ciuitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli euentu
laeta agere, de Metello fama praeclara esse. igitur eo 3
intentior ad uictoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cauere
tamen necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse post gloriam
inuidiam sequi. ita quo clarior erat, eo magis anxius erat, 4
neque post insidias Iugurthae effuso exercitu praedari: ubi
frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu
praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius
ducebat. sed igni magis quam praeda ager uastabatur. 5
duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant. ubi ui 6,7
opus erat, cuncti aderant. ceterum, quo fuga atque formido
latius cresceret, diuorsi agebant. eo tempore Iugurtha per 8
collis sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere, qua uen-
turum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum
penuria erat, conrumpere, modo se Metello, interdum Mario
ostendere, postremos in agmine temptare ac statim in collis
regredi, rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium
facere neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto
retinere.

Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari uidet neque ab 56
hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte
qua sita erat arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare,
ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Iugurtham laborantibus

2 suis auxilio uenturum, ibique proelium fore. at ille quae
parabantur a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum
anteuenit. oppidanos hortatur moenia defendant, additis
auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere
nequibat, firmissumum erat. praeterea pollicetur in tempore
3 semet cum exercitu adfore. ita conpositis rebus in loca
quam maxume occulta discedit ac post paulo cognoscit
Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus
Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post
4 malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. eo cum delectis equi-
tibus noctu pergit et iam egredientibus Romanis in porta
pugnam facit, simul magna uoce Siccenses hortatur uti
cohortis ab tergo circumueniant: fortunam illis praeclari
facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno,
5 illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos. ac ni Marius
signa inferre atque euadere oppido properauisset, profecto
cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutauissent: tanta
6 mobilitate sese Numidae gerunt. sed milites Iugurthini
paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam maiore ui hostes
57 urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt. Marius ad Zamam
peruenit. id oppidum in campo situm magis opere quam
natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae rei egens, armis
2 uirisque opulentum. igitur Metellus pro tempore atque
loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumuenit,
3 legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret. deinde signo dato
undique simul clamor ingens oritur. neque ea res Numidas
4 terret: infensi intentique sine tumultu manent. proelium
incipitur: Romani pro ingenio quisque pars eminus glande
aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo sub-
fodere, modo scalis aggredi, cupere proelium in manibus
5 facere; contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa uoluere, sudes,
pila, praeterea picem sulphure et taeda mixtam ardentia
6 mittere. sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor

animi satis muniuerat. nam plerosque iacula tormentis aut
manu emissa uolnerabant, parique periculo sed fama inpari
boni atque ignaui erant.

Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex inprouiso **58**
castra hostium cum magna manu inuadit: remissis qui in
praesidio erant et omnia magis quam proelium expectantibus
portam inrumpit. at nostri repentino metu perculsi sibi 2
quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma
capere, magna pars uolnerati aut occisi. ceterum ex omni 3
multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis
Romani grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem,
neque inde maxuma ui depelli quiuerunt, sed tela eminus
missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari; sin
Numidae propius adcessissent, ibi uero uirtutem ostendere
et eos maxuma ui caedere, fundere atque fugare. interim 4
Metellus, cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem
a tergo accepit, dein conuorso equo animaduortit fugam
ad se uorsum fieri: quae res indicabat popularis esse. igitur 5
equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit ac statim C.
Marium cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacrumans per
amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, ne quam con-
tumeliam remanere in exercitu uictore neue hostis inultos
abire sinat. ille breui mandata efficit. at Iugurtha muni- 6
mento castrorum inpeditus, cum alii super uallum prae-
cipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent,
multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto 7
negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu
reuortitur. igitur postero die, prius quam ad obpugnandum **59**
egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis
aduentus erat, pro castris agitare iubet, portas et proxuma
loca tribunis dispertit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque
uti superiore die murum aggreditur. interim Iugurtha ex 2
occulto repente nostros inuadit. qui in proxumo locati

fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur, reliqui cito sub-
3 ueniunt. neque diutius Numidae resistere quiuissent, ni
pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu
facerent. quibus illi freti non, uti equestri proelio solet,
sequi, dein cedere, sed aduorsis equis concurrere, inplicare
ac perturbare aciem, ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis
60 paene uictos dare. eodem tempore apud Zamam magna
ui certabatur. ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat,
eo acerrume niti neque alius in alio magis quam in sese
spem habere, pariterque oppidani agere: obpugnare aut
parare omnibus locis, auidius alteri alteros sauciare quam
2 semet tegere; clamor permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu,
item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri; tela utrimque
3 uolare. sed illi qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum
modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre pro-
4 spectabant. eos, uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant, laetos
modo, modo pauidos animaduorteres ac, sicuti audiri a
suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari aut manu
significare aut niti corporibus et ea huc et illuc, quasi
5 uitabundi aut iacientes tela, agitare. quod ubi Mario cog-
nitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat) consulto lenius agere
ac diffidentiam rei simulare, pati Numidas sine tumultu
6 regis proelium uisere. ita illis studio suorum adstrictis
repente magna ui murum aggreditur. et iam scalis egressi
milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt,
7 lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. nostri primo
resistere, deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae conminutae,
qui supersteterant adflicti sunt, ceteri quoquo modo potuere,
pauci integri, magna pars uolneribus confecti abeunt.
8 denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

61 Metellus, postquam uidet frustra inceptum, neque oppi-
dum capi, neque Iugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco
pugnam facere, et iam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama

discedit et in eis urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque
munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia inponit. ceterum 2
exercitum in prouinciam, quae proxuma est Numidiae,
hiemandi gratia conlocat. neque id tempus ex aliorum 3
more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis
bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere
et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. igitur Bomilcarem, 4
qui Romae cum Iugurtha fuerat et inde uadibus datis de
Massiuae nece iudicium fugerat, quod ei per maxumam
amicitiam maxuma copia fallundi erat, multis pollicita-
tionibus aggreditur. ac primo efficit uti ad se conloquendi 5
gratia occultus ueniat, deinde fide data, si Iugurtham uiuom
aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore ut illi senatus inpunitatem
et sua omnia concederet, facile Numidae persuadet cum
ingenio infido tum metuenti ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret,
ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur. is, ubi **62**
primum opportunum fuit, Iugurtham anxium ac miserantem
fortunas suas adcedit. monet atque lacrumans obtestatur
uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum optume
meritae prouideat: omnibus proeliis sese uictos, agrum
uastatum, multos mortalis captos occisos, regni opes con-
minutas esse, satis saepe iam et uirtutem militum et fortunam
temptatam: caueat ne illo cunctante Numidae sibi con-
sulant. his atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum 2
inpellit. mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Iugurtham 3
imperata facturum dicerent ac sine ulla pactione sese
regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere 4
cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersi iubet: eorum
et aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. ita 5
more maiorum ex consili decreto per legatos Iugurthae
imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia, elephantos omnis,
equorum et armorum aliquantum. quae postquam sine 6
mora facta sunt, iubet omnis perfugas uinctos adduci.

7 eorum magna pars, uti iussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum
primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam
8 abierant. igitur Iugurtha, ubi armis uirisque et pecunia
spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium uocaretur,
rursus coepit flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia
9 digna timere. denique multis diebus per dubitationem
consumptis, cum modo taedio rerum aduorsarum omnia
bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret quam
grauis casus in seruitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque
10 praesidiis nequiquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. et
Romae senatus de prouinciis consultus Numidiam Metello
decreuerat.

63 Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias dis
subplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat:
proinde quae animo agitabat fretus dis ageret, fortunam
quam saepissume experiretur: cuncta prospere euentura.
2 at illum iam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat,
ad quem capiundum praeter uetustatem familiae alia
omnia abunde erant, industria, probitas, militiae magna
scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et
3 diuitiarum uictor, tantummodo gloriae auidus. sed is
natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas
militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Graeca facun-
dia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis
4 bonas integrum ingenium breui adoleuit. ergo ubi primum
tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem eius
ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur.
5 deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit,
semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore
6 quam gerebat dignus haberetur. tamen is ad id locorum
talis uir (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est) adpetere
non audebat. etiam tum alios magistratus plebs, consulatum
7 nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. nouos nemo tam

clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo
honore et quasi pollutus haberetur. igitur ubi Marius 64
haruspicis dicta eodem intendere uidet, quo cupido animi
hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat.
cui quamquam uirtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis
superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia,
commune nobilitatis malum. itaque primum conmotus 2
insolita re mirari eius consilium et quasi per amicitiam
monere ne tam praua inciperet neu super fortunam animum
gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse, debere illi res
suas satis placere; postremo caueret id petere a populo
Romano, quod illi iure negaretur. postquam haec atque 3
alia talia dixit, neque animus Mari flectitur, respondit, ubi
primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese quae
peteret. ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, 4
ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consu-
latum petiturum (is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem
militabat, annos natus circiter uiginti). quae res Marium
cum pro honore quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum
uehementer accenderat. ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis 5
consultoribus, grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abs-
tinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret: milites quibus in
hibernis praeerat laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud
negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, crimi-
nose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars
exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Iugurtham
in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod
homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet.
quae omnia illis eo firmiora uidebantur, quia diuturnitate 6
belli res familiaris conruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis
festinatur. erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam 65
nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem
Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis

2 confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum inminuta. cui
Metellus petenti more regum ut sellam iuxta poneret, item
postea custodiae causa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrum-
que negauerat—honorem, quod eorum more foret, quos
populus Romanus reges appellauisset, praesidium, quod
contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites
3 Numidae traderentur. hunc Marius anxium aggreditur
atque hortatur ut contumeliarum in imperatorem cum suo
auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum
ualido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem, ingentem
uirum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Iugurtha captus aut
occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum;
id adeo mature posse euenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum
4 missus foret. itaque et illum et equites Romanos, milites
et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes inpellit, uti
Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello
5 scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. sic illi a multis
mortalibus honestissuma suffragatione consulatus petebatur.
simul ea tempestate plebs, nobilitate fusa per legem Mami-
liam, nouos extollebat. ita Mario cuncta procedere.

66 Interim Iugurtha postquam omissa deditione bellum
incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere
exercitum, ciuitatis quae ab se defecerant formidine aut
ostentando praemia adfectare, conmunire suos locos, arma,
tela aliaque, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut con-
mercari, seruitia Romanorum adlicere et eos ipsos, qui in
praesidiis erant, pecunia temptare: prorsus nihil intactum
2 neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. igitur Vagenses, quo
Metellus initio Iugurtha pacificante praesidium inposuerat,
fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea uoluntate alienati,
principes ciuitatis inter se coniurant. nam uolgus, uti
plerumque solet et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili,
seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum nouarum

rerum, quieti et otio aduorsum. dein conpositis inter se
rebus in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebra-
tusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciuiam magis quam
formidinem ostentabat. sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones 3
tribunosque militaris et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpi-
lium Silanum alius alium domos suas inuitant. eos omnis
praeter Turpilium inter epulas obtruncant. postea milites
palantis inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggre-
diuntur. idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii 4
studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignoran-
tibus tumultus ipse et res nouae satis placebant. Romani **67**
milites, inprouiso metu incerti ignarique quid potissumum
facerent, trepidare. arce oppidi (ubi signa et scuta erant)
praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fuga prohibebant.
ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia
quae locus praebebat certatim mittere. ita neque caueri 2
anceps malum neque a fortissumis infirmissumo generi
resisti posse: iuxta boni malique, strenui et inbelles inulti
obtruncari. in ea tanta asperitate, saeuissumis Numidis et 3
oppido undique clauso, Turpilius praefectus unus ex omni-
bus Italicis intactus profugit. id misericordiane hospitis an
pactione an casu ita euenerit, parum comperimus: nisi, quia
illi in tanto malo turpis uita integra fama potior fuit, in-
probus intestabilisque uidetur.

Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, **68**
paulisper maestus ex conspectu abit. deinde ubi ira et
aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire
iniurias festinat. legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam 2
plurumos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis
expeditos educit et postero die circiter hora tertia peruenit
in quandam planitiem locis paulo superioribus circumuen-
tam. ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine et iam abnuentis 3
omnia docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum

abesse: decere illos relicum laborem aequo animo pati,
dum pro ciuibus suis, uiris fortissumis atque miserrumis,
poenas caperent. praeterea praedam benigne ostentat.
4 sic animis eorum adrectis equites in primo late, pedites
69 quam artissume ire et signa occultare iubet. Vagenses
ubi animum aduortere ad se uorsum exercitum pergere,
primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati portas clausere,
deinde ubi neque agros uastari et eos, qui primi aderant,
Numidas equites uident, rursum Iugurtham arbitrati cum
2 magno gaudio obuii procedunt. equites peditesque repente
signo dato alii uolgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad
portas festinare, pars turris capere: ira atque praedae spes
3 amplius quam lassitudo posse. ita Vagenses biduom modo
ex perfidia laetati. ciuitas magna et opulens cuncta poenae
4 aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum
ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, iussus a Metello
causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus
uerberatusque capite poenas soluit: nam is ciuis e Latio
erat.

70 Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius inpulsu Iugurtha
deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi
et ipse eum suspiciens, nouas res cupere, ad perniciem eius
2 dolum quaerere, die noctuque fatigare animum. denique
omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam, hominem
nobilem, magnis opibus, clarum acceptumque popularibus
suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et
omnis res exequi solitus erat, quae Iugurthae fesso aut
maioribus adstricto superauerant. ex quo illi gloria opesque
3 inuentae. igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur.
4 cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nab-
dalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Roma-
5 norum iussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus uastaretur. is
postquam magnitudine facinoris perculsus ad tempus non

uenit metusque rem inpediebat, Bomilcar simul cupidus
incepta patrandi et timore soci anxius, ne omisso uetere
consilio nouom quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines
fidelis mittit, in quis mollitiam socordiamque uiri accusare, 6
testari deos per quos iurauisset, monere ne praemia Metelli
in pestem conuorteret: Iugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum
suane an Metelli uirtute periret, id modo agitari: proinde
reputaret cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet.
sed cum eae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore 71
fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris uerbis 2
primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit.
erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptus- 3
que et omnium consiliorum nisi nouissumi particeps. qui 4
postquam adlatas litteras audiuit et ex consuetudine ratus
opera aut ingenio suo opus esse in tabernaculum introiit,
dormiente illo epistulam super caput in puluino temere
positam sumit ac perlegit, dein propere cognitis insidiis ad
regem pergit. Nabdalsa paulo post experrectus, ubi neque 5
epistulam repperit et rem omnem uti acta erat cognouit,
primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit,
Iugurtham placandi gratia adcedit: dicit quae ipse para-
uisset facere perfidia clientis sui praeuenta, lacrumans
obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne
super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet. ad ea rex aliter 72
atque animo gerebat placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque
multis, quos socios insidiarum cognouerat, interfectis iram
obpresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oreretur. neque 2
post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit:
neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere,
ciuis hostisque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni
strepitu pauescere, alio *atque alio* loco, saepe contra decus
regium noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis
armis tumultum facere, ita formidine quasi uecordia exagitari.

73 Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio pate-
facto ex perfugis cognouit, rursus tamquam ad integrum
2 bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de
profectione, simul et inuitum et offensum sibi parum
3 idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. et Romae plebes litteris,
quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis uolenti
4 animo de ambobus acceperant. imperatori nobilitas, quae
antea decori fuit, inuidiae esse, at illi alteri generis humilitas
fauorem addiderat. ceterum in utroque magis studia par-
5 tium quam bona aut mala sua moderata. praeterea
seditiosi magistratus uolgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus
contionibus capitis accersere, Mari uirtutem in maius
6 celebrare. denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestes-
que omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant,
relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria
7 post illius honorem ducerent. ita perculsa nobilitate post
multas tempestates nouo homini consulatus mandatur. et
postea populus a tribuno plebis T. Manlio Mancino rogatus
quem uellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium
iussit. sed paulo ***ante senatus Metello Numidiam*** decreuerat:
ea res frustra fuit.

74 Eodem tempore Iugurtha amissis amicis (quorum pleros-
que ipse necauerat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii
ad regem Bocchum profugerant), cum neque bellum geri
sine administris posset et nouorum fidem in tanta perfidia
ueterum experiri periculosum duceret, uarius incertusque
agitabat. neque illi res neque consilium aut quisquam
hominum satis placebat. itinera praefectosque in dies
mutare, modo aduorsum hostis, interdum in solitudines
pergere, saepe in fuga ac post paulo in armis spem habere,
dubitare uirtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet: ita
2 quocumque intenderat res aduorsae erant. sed inter eas
moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit.

Numidae ab Iugurtha pro tempore parati instructique; dein
proelium incipitur. qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi 3
aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri eius omnes milites primo
congressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum
aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Nu-
midis in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

Ea fuga Iugurtha inpensius modo rebus suis diffidens **75**
cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam
peruenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi
plerique thesauri filiorumque eius multus pueritiae cultus
erat. quae postquam Metello conperta sunt, quamquam 2
inter Thalam flumenque proxumum in spatio milium quin-
quaginta loca arida atque uasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe
patrandi belli, si eius oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates
superuadere ac naturam etiam uincere aggreditur. igitur 3
omnia iumenta sarcinis leuari iubet nisi frumento dierum
decem, ceterum utris modo et alia aquae idonea portari.
praeterea conquirit ex agris quam plurumum potest domiti 4
pecoris. eo inponit uasa cuiusque modi, sed pleraque
lignea, conlecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. ad hoc finitumis 5
imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam
plurumum quisque aquae portaret: diem locumque, ubi
praesto fuerint, praedicit. ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam 6
oppido aquam esse supra diximus, iumenta onerat: eo modo
instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. deinde ubi ad id loci 7
uentum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munita-
que sunt, tanta repente caelo missa uis aquae dicitur, ut ea
modo exercitui satis superque foret. praeterea conmeatus 8
spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in noua
deditione, officia intenderant. ceterum milites religione 9
pluuia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit.
nam rati sese dis inmortalibus curae esse. deinde postero
die contra opinionem Iugurthae ad Thalam perueniunt.

10 oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant,
magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum
76 parare: idem nostri facere. sed rex nihil iam infectum
Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos,
tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem
industria uicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex
oppido noctu profugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius
uno die aut una nocte moratus simulabat sese negoti gratia
properare. ceterum proditionem timebat, quem uitare
posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium et ex
2 opportunitate capi. at Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio
intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum uidet,
3 uallo fossaque moenia circumuenit. deinde locis ex copia
maxume idoneis uineas agere, aggerem iacere et super
aggerem inpositis turribus opus et administros tutari.
4 contra haec oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque
5 nihil relicum fieri. denique Romani, multo ante labore
proeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta quam eo uentum
erat oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis con-
6 rupta. ei postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas
adflictas uident, aurum atque argentum et alia quae prima
ducuntur domum regiam conportant. ibi uino et epulis
onerati illaque et domum et semet igni conrumpunt, et,
quas uicti ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi uolentes
pependere.

77 Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad
Metellum uenerant orantes uti praesidium praefectumque
eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam hominem nobilem
factiosum nouis rebus studere, aduorsum quem neque
imperia magistratuum neque leges ualerent. ni id festi-
naret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios
2 fore. nam Leptitani iam inde a principio belli Iugurthini
ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant amicitiam

societatemque rogatum. deinde, ubi ea inpetrata, semper 3
boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia Albino Metel-
loque imperata naue fecerant. itaque ab imperatore facile 4
quae petebant adepti. emissae eo cohortes Ligurum quat-
tuor et C. Annius praefectus. id oppidum ab Sidoniis **78**
conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias
ciuilis nauibus in eos locos uenisse. ceterum situm inter
duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. nam duo sunt 2
sinus prope in extrema Africa inpares magnitudine, pari
natura. quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt, cetera, uti
fors tulit, alta alia, *alia* in tempestate uadosa. nam ubi 3
mare magnum esse et saeuire uentis coepit, limum hare-
namque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum
cum uentis simul mutatur: Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.
eius ciuitatis lingua modo conuorsa conubio Numidarum, 4
legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius retine-
bant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. inter 5
illos et frequentem Numidiam multi uastique loci erant.

Sed quoniam in eas regiones per Leptitanorum negotia **79**
uenimus, non indignum uidetur egregium atque mirabile
facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos
locus admonuit. qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque 2
Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opu-
lenti fuere. ager in medio harenosus, una specie, neque 3
flumen neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret. quae
res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. post- 4
quam utrimque legiones, item classes saepe fusae fugataeque,
et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriuerant, ueriti ne mox uictos
uictoresque defessos alius aggrederetur, per indutias spon-
sionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur:
quo in loco inter se obuii fuissent, is communis utriusque
populi finis haberetur. igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, 5
quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturauere iter pergere.

Cyrenenses tardius iere. id socordiane an casu acciderit
6 parum cognoui. ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud
secus atque in mari retinere. nam ubi per loca aequalia et
nuda gignentium uentus coortus harenam humo excitauit,
ea magna ui agitata ora oculosque implere solet, ita
7 prospectu impedito morari iter. postquam Cyrenenses
aliquanto posteriores se esse uident et ob rem conruptam
domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginiensis ante tempus
domo digressos, conturbare rem, denique omnia malle quam
8 uicti abire. sed cum Poeni aliam condicionem, tantum-
modo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium
faciunt, ut uel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi uiui
obruerentur, uel eadem condicione sese quem in locum
9 uellent processuros. Philaeni condicione probata seque
uitamque suam rei publicae condonauere: ita uiui obruti.
10 Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras con-
secrauere, aliique illis domi honores instituti. nunc ad rem
redeo.

80 Iugurtha, postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum
contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis
profectus, peruenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum
incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani.
2 eorum multitudinem in unum cogit ac paulatim consuefacit
ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium obseruare, item alia
3 militaria facere. praeterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis
muneribus et maioribus promissis ad studium sui perducit:
quis adiutoribus regem aggressus inpellit uti aduorsus
4 Romanos bellum incipiat. id ea gratia facilius proniusque
fuit, quod Bocchus initio huiusce belli legatos Romam
5 miserat foedus et amicitiam petitum, quam rem opportu-
nissumam incepto bello pauci impediuerant caeci auaritia,
quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta uendere mos erat.
6 etiam antea Iugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. uerum ea

necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque leuis ducitur, quia
singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurumas uxores, denas
alii, alii pluris habent, sed reges eo amplius. ita animus 7
multitudine distrahitur: nulla pro socia optinet, pariter
omnes uiles sunt. igitur in locum ambobus placitum 81
exercitus conueniunt. ibi fide data et accepta Iugurtha
Bocchi animum oratione accendit: Romanos iniustos,
profunda auaritia communis omnium hostis esse; eandem
illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum
aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi, quis omnia regna
aduorsa sint: tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginiensis, item
regem Persen, post uti quisque opulentissumus uideatur,
ita Romanis hostem fore. eis atque aliis talibus dictis 2
ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus prae-
dam captiuosque et inpedimenta locauerat. ita Iugurtha 3
ratus aut capta urbe operae pretium fore aut, si dux
Romanus auxilio suis uenisset, proelio sese certaturos.
nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem inminuere, 4
ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

Imperator postquam de regum societate cognouit, non 82
temere neque, uti saepe iam uicto Iugurtha consueuerat,
omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit. ceterum haud
procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse
ratus cognitis Mauris, quoniam is nouos hostis adcesserat,
ex commodo pugnam facere. interim Roma per litteras 2
certior fit prouinciam Numidiam Mario datam. nam con-
sulem factum ante acceperat. quibus rebus supra bonum
aut honestum perculsus, neque lacrumas tenere neque
moderari linguam: uir egregius in aliis artibus nimis
molliter aegritudinem pati. quam rem alii in superbiam 3
uortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse,
multi, quod iam parta uictoria ex manibus eriperetur. nobis
satis cognitum est illum magis honore Mari quam iniuria

sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta
83 prouincia alii quam Mario traderetur. igitur eo dolore
inpeditus et quia stultitiae uidebatur alienam rem periculo
suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum, ne sine
causa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere tum magnam
copiam societatis amicitiaeque coniungendae, quae potior
bello esset, et, quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non
debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi facile,
ceterum aegerrume desinere; non in eiusdem potestate
initium eius et finem esse: incipere cuiuis, etiam ignauo,
licere, deponi, cum uictores uelint; proinde sibi regnoque
suo consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Iugurthae perditis
2 misceret. ad ea rex satis placide uerba facit: sese pacem
cupere, sed Iugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi
3 copia fieret, omnia conuentura. rursus imperator contra
postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare partim, alia
abnuere. eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque
nuntiis tempus procedere, et ex Metelli uoluntate bellum
intactum trahi.

84 At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissuma plebe consul
factus, postquam ei prouinciam Numidiam populus iussit,
antea iam infestus nobilitati, tum uero multus atque ferox
instare, singulos modo, modo uniuorsos laedere, dictitare
sese consulatum ex uictis illis spolia cepisse, alia praeterea
2 magnifica pro se et illis dolentia, interim quae bello opus
erant prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum,
auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque accersere, praeterea
ex Latio fortissumum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos
fama cognitos accire et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis
3 stipendiis secum proficisci. neque illi senatus, quamquam
aduorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat. ceterum
supplementum etiam laetus decreuerat, quia neque plebi
militia uolenti putabatur et Marius aut belli usum aut

studia uolgi amissurus. sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta
lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque inuaserat: sese quisque 4
praeda locupletem fore, uictorem domum rediturum, alia
huiuscemodi animis trahebant, et eos non paulum oratione
sua Marius adrexerat. nam postquam, omnibus quae postu- 5
lauerat decretis, milites scribere uolt, hortandi causa, simul
et nobilitatem uti consueuerat exagitandi, contionem populi
aduocauit. deinde hoc modo disseruit.

'Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non eisdem artibus impe- 85
rium a uobis petere et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo
industrios, supplices, modicos esse, dein per ignauiam et
superbiam aetatem agere. sed mihi contra ea uidetur.
nam quo pluris est uniuorsa res publica quam consulatus 2
aut praetura, eo maiore cura illam administrari quam haec
peti debere. neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo 3
benificio uostro negoti sustineam. bellum parare simul
et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis
offendere, domi forisque omnia curare, et ea agere inter
inuidos, occursantis, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius
est. ad hoc, alii si deliquere, uetus nobilitas, maiorum 4
fortia facta, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae,
omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet
sitae, quas necesse est uirtute et innocentia tutari. nam
alia infirma sunt. et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora 5
in me conuorsa esse, aequos bonosque fauere, quippe mea
bene facta rei publicae procedunt, nobilitatem locum inua-
dundi quaerere. quo mihi acrius adnitundum est uti neque 6
uos capiamini et illi frustra sint. ita ad hoc aetatis a 7
pueritia fui, uti omnis labores et pericula consueta habeam.
quae ante uostra benificia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta 8
mercede deseram non est consilium, Quirites. illis difficile 9
est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese
probos simulauere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optumis

artibus egi, bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam
10 uortit. bellum me gerere cum Iugurtha iussistis, quam rem
nobilitas aegerrume tulit. quaeso, reputate cum animis
uostris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo
nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem
ueteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi—
scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet,
11 sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem offici sui. ita plerum-
que euenit ut quem uos imperare iussistis, is imperatorem
12 alium quaerat. atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam
consules facti sunt, et acta maiorum et Graecorum militaria
praecepta legere coeperint—praeposteri homines: nam
gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius
13 est. conparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me
hominem nouom. quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum
partem uidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego
14 militando didici. nunc uos existumate facta an dicta pluris
sint. contemnunt nouitatem meam, ego illorum ignauiam;
15 mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur. quamquam ego
naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortis-
16 sumum quemque generosissumum. ac si iam ex patribus
Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex se gigni
maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese liberos quam
17 optumos uoluisse? quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant idem
maioribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex uirtute nobilitas coepit.
18 inuident honori meo: ergo inuideant labori, innocentiae,
19 periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. uerum
homines conrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi uostros
honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste uixerint.
20 ne illi falsi sunt, qui diuorsissumas res pariter expectant,
21 ignauiae uoluptatem et praemia uirtutis. atque etiam, cum
apud uos aut in senatu uerba faciunt, pleraque oratione
maiores suos extollunt, eorum fortia facta memorando

clariores sese putant. quod contra est. nam quanto 22
uita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior.
et profecto ita se res habet: maiorum gloria posteris quasi 23
lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur.
huiusce rei ego inopiam fateor, Quirites, uerum, id quod 24
multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. nunc 25
uidete quam iniqui sint. quod ex aliena uirtute sibi adro-
gant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia imagines
non habeo et quia mihi noua nobilitas est, quam certe
peperisse melius est quam acceptam conrupisse. equidem 26
ego non ignoro, si iam mihi respondere uelint, abunde illis
facundam et conpositam orationem fore. sed in uostro
maxumo benificio cum omnibus locis me uosque maledictis
lacerent, non placuit reticere, nequis modestiam in con-
scientiam duceret. nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia 27
nulla oratio laedere potest. quippe uera necesse est bene
praedicent, falsa uita moresque mei superant. sed quoniam 28
uostra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et
maxumum negotium inposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate,
num eorum paenitendum sit. non possum fidei causa 29
imagines neque triumphos aut consulatus maiorum meorum
ostentare, at, si res postulet, hastas, uexillum, phaleras, alia
militaria dona, praeterea cicatrices aduorso corpore. hae 30
sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta,
ut illa illis, sed quae ego meis plurumis laboribus et
periculis quaesiui. non sunt conposita uerba mea: parui 31
id facio. ipsa se uirtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus
est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. neque litteras Graecas 32
didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad uirtutem
doctoribus nihil profuerant. at illa multo optuma rei pub- 33
licae doctus sum, hostem ferire, praesidium agitare, nihil
metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati,
humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem

34 tolerare. his ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos
arte colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam, laborem
35 illorum faciam. hoc est utile, hoc ciuile imperium. namque
cum tute per mollitiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id
36 est dominum, non imperatorem esse. haec atque talia
maiores uostri faciundo seque remque publicam celebrauere.
37 quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum
aemulos contemnit, et omnis honores non ex merito, sed
38 quasi debitos a uobis repetit. ceterum homines super-
bissumi procul errant. maiores eorum omnia quae licebat
illis reliquere, diuitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram:
uirtutem non reliquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque
39 datur dono neque accipitur. sordidum me et incultis
moribus aiunt, quia parum scite conuiuium exorno neque
histrionem ullum neque pluris preti cocum quam uilicum
40 habeo. quae mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites. nam ex
parente meo et ex aliis sanctis uiris ita accepi: munditias
mulieribus, laborem uiris conuenire, omnibusque bonis
oportere plus gloriae quam diuitiarum esse; arma, non
41 supellectilem decori esse. | quin ergo quod iuuat, quod
carum aestumant, id semper faciant: ament, potent, ubi
adulescentiam habuere ibi senectutem agant—in conuiuiis,
dediti uentri et turpissumae parti corporis; sudorem, pul-
uerem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis
42 iucundiora sunt. uerum non ita est. nam ubi se flagitiis
dedecorauere, turpissumi uiri bonorum praemia ereptum
43 eunt. ita iniustissume luxuria et ignauia, pessumae artes,
illis qui coluere eas nihil officiunt, rei publicae innoxiae
44 cladi sunt. nunc quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non
illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica
45 loquar. primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete
animum, Quirites. nam quae ad hoc tempus Iugurtham
tutata sunt, omnia remouistis, auaritiam, inperitiam atque

superbiam. deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed
mehercule magis strenuus quam felix. nam magna pars 46
eius auaritia aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. quam ob 47
rem uos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini mecum et
capessite rem publicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate
aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. egomet
in agmine aut in proelio consultor idem et socius periculi
uobiscum adero, meque uosque in omnibus rebus iuxta
geram. et profecto dis iuuantibus omnia matura sunt, 48
uictoria, praeda, laus. quae si dubia aut procul essent,
tamen omnis bonos rei publicae subuenire decebat. etenim 49
nemo ignauia inmortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens
liberis uti aeterni forent optauit, magis uti boni hones-
tique uitam exigerent. plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis 50
uirtutem uerba adderent. nam strenuis abunde dictum
puto.'

Huiuscemodi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis **86**
animos arrectos uidet, propere conmeatu, stipendio, armis
aliisque utilibus nauis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum
proficisci iubet. ipse interea milites scribere, non more 2
maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti cuiusque lubido erat,
capite censos plerosque. id factum alii inopia bonorum, 3
alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo
genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam
quaerenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque
sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio
honesta uidentur. igitur Marius, cum aliquanto maiore 4
numero quam decretum erat in Africam profectus, paucis
diebus Uticam aduehitur. exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio 5
legato. nam Metellus conspectum Mari fugerat, ne uideret
ea quae audita animus tolerare nequiuerat. sed consul **87**
expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis in agrum fer-
tilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur; omnia ibi capta

militibus donat. dein castella et oppida natura et uiris
parum munita aggreditur, proelia multa, ceterum leuia,
2 alia aliis locis facere. interim noui milites sine metu
pugnae adesse, uidere fugientis capi aut occidi, fortissumum
quemque tutissumum, armis libertatem, patriam parentesque
3 et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque diuitias quaeri. sic breui
spatio noui ueteresque coaluere et uirtus omnium aequalis
4 facta. at reges, ubi de aduentu Mari cognouerunt, diuorsi
in locos difficilis abeunt. ita Iugurthae placuerat, speranti
mox effusos hostis inuadi posse: Romanos sicuti plerosque
88 remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros. Metellus interea
Romam profectus contra spem suam laetissumis animis
excipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam inuidia decesserat,
2 iuxta carus. sed Marius inpigre prudenterque suorum et
hostium res pariter adtendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque
aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias
eorum anteuenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos
3 tutum pati. itaque et Gaetulos et Iugurtham ex sociis
nostris praedas agentis saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat,
ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exu-
4 erat. quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi
cognouit, statuit urbis, quae uiris aut loco pro hostibus et
aduorsum se opportunissumae erant, singulas circumuenire:
ita Iugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut
5 proelio certaturum. nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum saepe
miserat: uelle populi Romani amicitiam: nequid ab se
6 hostile timeret. id simulaueritne, quo inprouisus grauior
accideret, an mobilitate ingeni pacem atque bellum mutare
solitus, parum exploratum est.

89 Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita
adire, partim ui, alia metu aut praemia ostentando auortere
2 ab hostibus. ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans
3 Iugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus uenturum. sed

ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit,
maiora et magis aspera aggredi tempus uisum est. erat 4
inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque ualens,
nomine Capsa, cuius conditor Hercules Libys memora-
batur. eius ciues apud Iugurtham inmunes leui imperio
et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur, muniti aduorsum hostis
non moenibus modo et armis atque uiris, uerum etiam
multo magis locorum asperitate. nam, praeter oppido 5
propinqua, alia omnia uasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta
serpentibus, quarum uis sicuti omnium ferarum inopia cibi
acrior. ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti
magis quam alia re accenditur. eius potiundi Marium 6
maxuma cupido inuaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum
quia res aspera uidebatur et Metellus oppidum Thalam
magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque,
nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot
fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum
iugi aqua, cetera pluuia utebantur. id ibique et in omni 7
Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius
tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne
uescebantur et neque salem neque alia inritamenta gulae
quaerebant: cibus illis aduorsus famem atque sitim, non
lubidini neque luxuriae erat. igitur consul, omnibus **90**
exploratis, credo dis fretus (nam contra tantas difficultates
consilio satis prouidere non poterat, quippe etiam frumenti
inopia temptabatur, quia Numidae pabulo pecoris magis
quam aruo student et quodcumque natum fuerat iussu
regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et
frugum uacuos ea tempestate: nam aestatis extremum erat),
tamen pro rei copia satis prouidenter exornat: pecus omne, 2
quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxili-
ariis agundum adtribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus
expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et conmeatum

locauerat, ire iubet dicitque se praedabundum post paucos
3 dies eodem uenturum. sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad
91 flumen Tanain. ceterum in itinere cotidie pecus exercitui
per centurias, item turmas aequaliter distribuerat et ex coriis
utres uti fierent curabat, simul inopiam frumenti lenire et
ignaris omnibus parare, quae mox usui forent. denique
sexto die, cum ad flumen uentum est, maxuma uis utrium
2 effecta. ibi castris leui munimento positis milites cibum
capere atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos
esse iubet: omnibus sarcinis abiectis aqua modo seque et
3 iumenta onerare. dein, postquam tempus uisum, castris
egreditur noctemque totam itinere facto consedit. idem
proxuma facit, dein tertia multo ante lucis aduentum per-
uenit in locum tumulosum ab Capsa non amplius duum
milium interuallo, ibique quam occultissume potest cum
4 omnibus copiis operitur. sed ubi dies coepit et Numidae
nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi, repente omnem
equitatum et cum eis uelocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad
Capsam et portas obsidere iubet. deinde ipse intentus
5 propere sequi neque milites praedari sinere. quae post-
quam oppidani cognouere, res trepidae, metus ingens,
malum inprouisum, ad hoc pars ciuium extra moenia in
6 hostium potestate coegere uti deditionem facerent. ceterum
oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, alii omnes
7 uenumdati, praeda militibus diuisa. id facinus contra ius
belli non auaritia neque scelere consulis admissum, sed quia
locus Iugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus
hominum mobile, infidum, ante neque benificio neque metu
coercitum.

92 Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incom-
modo peregit, magnus et clarus antea, maior atque clarior
2 haberi coepit. omnia non bene consulta in uirtutem
trahebantur, milites, modesto imperio habiti simul et

locupletes, ad caelum ferre, Numidae magis quam mortalem
timere, postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut
mentem diuinam esse aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi.
sed consul, ubi ea res bene euenit, ad alia oppida pergit, 3
pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura ***deserta*** propter
Capsensium miserias igni conrumpit: luctu atque caede
omnia conplentur. denique multis locis potitus, ac pleris- 4
que exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem
asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem.

Namque haud longe a flumine Muluccha, quod Iugur- 5
thae Bocchique regnum diiungebat, erat inter ceteram
planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in
inmensum editus uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis
natura uelut opere atque consulto praeceps. quem locum 6
Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa ui capere
intendit. sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta.
nam castello uirorum atque armorum satis et magna uis 7
frumenti et fons aquae, aggeribus turribusque et altis
machinationibus locus inportunus, iter castellanorum angus-
tum admodum, utrimque praecisum: ***ea*** uineae cum ingenti 8
periculo frustra agebantur. nam cum eae paulo processe-
rant, igni aut lapidibus conrumpebantur, milites neque pro 9
opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci neque inter uineas
sine periculo administrare: optumus quisque cadere aut
sauciari, ceteris metus augeri. at Marius, multis diebus et 93
laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo
omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam
opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. quae cum 2
multos dies noctisque aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus
ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius castris aquatum
egressus haud procul ab latere castelli, quod auorsum
proeliantibus erat, animum aduortit inter saxa repentis
cocleas, quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures

peteret, studio legundi paulatim prope ad summum montis
3 egressus est. ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more
4 ingeni humani cupido difficilia faciundi animum uortit. et
forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum
modo prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo
cuncta gignentium natura fert. cuius ramis modo, modo
eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli planitiem peruenit,
5 quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant. ex-
ploratis omnibus quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem
regreditur, non temere, uti adscenderat, sed temptans omnia
6 et circumspiciens. itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet,
hortatur ab ea parte, qua ipse adscenderat, castellum
7 temptet, pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius
cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit,
quorum uti cuiusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut
facilem nuntiauere. consulis animus tamen paulum ad-
8 rectus. itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero
quinque quam uelocissumos delegit et cum eis, praesidio
qui forent, quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere
94 iubet et ei negotio proxumum diem constituit. sed ubi ex
praecepto tempus uisum, paratis conpositisque omnibus ad
locum pergit. ceterum illi, qui escensuri erant, praedocti
ab duce arma ornatumque mutauerant, capite atque pedibus
nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret; super
terga gladii et scuta, uerum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis
2 gratia simul et offensa quo leuius streperent. igitur prae-
grediens Ligus saxa et si quae uetustae radices eminebant
laqueis uinciebat, quibus adleuati milites facilius escenderent,
interdum timidos insolentia itineris leuare manu, ubi paulo
asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermos mittere,
deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quae dubia nisui
uidebantur potissumus temptare ac saepius eadem ascendens
descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam

addere. igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum 3
perueniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes sicut aliis
diebus aduorsum hostis aderant. Marius ubi ex nuntiis
quae Ligus egerat cognouit, quamquam toto die intentos
proelio Numidas habuerat, tum uero cohortatus milites et
ipse extra uineas egressus testudine acta succedere et simul
hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus
terrere. at Numidae saepe antea uineis Romanorum sub- 4
uorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur,
sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, male dicere Romanis
ac Mario uecordiam obiectare, militibus nostris Iugurthae
seruitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse. interim 5
omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna
utrimque ui pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute
certantibus repente a tergo signa canere, ac primo mulieres
et pueri, qui uisum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque
muro proxumus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque.
quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac 6
plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum cor-
pora uadere, auidi gloriae certantes murum petere, neque
quemquam omnium praeda morari. sic forte correcta Mari 7
temeritas gloriam ex culpa inuenit.

Ceterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum 95
magno equitatu in castra uenit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis
cogeret Romae relictus erat. sed quoniam nos tanti uiri res 2
admonuit, idoneum uisum est de natura cultuque eius paucis
dicere. neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus,
et L. Sisenna, optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas res
dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus uidetur.

Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope 3
iam extincta maiorum ignauia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis
iuxta, atque doctissume, eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus
uoluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior; otio luxurioso esse, tamen

ab negotiis numquam uoluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus et amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis;
4 multarum rerum ac maxume pecuniae largitor. atque illi, felicissumo omnium ante ciuilem uictoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitauere fortior an felicior esset. nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat magis disserere.

96 Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu uenit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus
2 factus est. ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare benificia, inuitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare ut illi quam plurumi deberent;
3 ioca atque seria cum humillumis agere, in operibus, in agmine atque ad uigilias multus adesse, neque interim, quod praua ambitio solet, consulis aut cuiusquam boni famam laedere: tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem
4 alium pati, plerosque anteuenire. quibus rebus et artibus breui Mario militibusque carissumus factus.

97 At Iugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios misit: quam primum in Numidiam
2 copias adduceret: proeli faciundi tempus adesse. quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus uti antea proxumos eius donis conrupit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi aut integris suis finibus bellum
3 conpositum foret. eo praemio inlectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Iugurtham accedit. ita amborum exercitu coniuncto Marium iam in hiberna proficiscentem uix decuma parte die reliqua inuadunt, rati noctem, quae iam aderat, et

uictis sibi munimento fore, et, si uicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant: contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. igitur simul 4
consul ex multis de hostium aduentu cognouit, et ipsi hostes aderant, et priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quiuit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proeli, sed cateruatim, uti quosque fors conglobauerat, in nostros incurrunt. qui omnes, trepidi inprouiso 5
metu ac tamen uirtutis memores, aut arma capiebant aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos escendere, obuiam ire hostibus, pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus equites peditesque permixti cedere alius, alius obtruncari, multi contra aduorsos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumueniri, neque uirtus neque arma satis tegere, quia hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant. denique Romani, ueteres nouique ob ea *quae supra memoraui aeque* scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus coniunxerat, orbis facere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium uim sustentabant. neque in 98
eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis quam familiarissumis parauerat, uagari passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, inuadere: manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. iam- 2
que dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, 3
uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta q*ua*erebat. ceterum apud 4

aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare iubet: ipse
paulatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus contur-
batis, in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in
5 collem subducit. ita reges loci difficultate coacti proelio
deterrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed
utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi consedere.
6 dein crebris ignibus factis plerumque noctis barbari more
suo laetari, exultare, strepere uocibus, et ipsi duces feroces,
7 quia non fugerant, pro uictoribus agere. sed ea cuncta
Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia uisu magno-
99 que hortamento erant. plurumum uero Marius inperitia
hostium confirmatus, quam maxumum silentium haberi
iubet, ne signa quidem, uti per uigilias solebant, canere.
deinde, ubi lux aduentabat, defessis iam hostibus ac paulo
ante somno captis, de inprouiso uigiles, item cohortium,
turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere,
milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere iubet.
2 Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente
exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere neque omnino
3 facere aut prouidere quicquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu,
clamore, nullo subueniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu,
formidine terror quasi uecordia ceperat. denique omnes
fusi fugatique. arma et signa militaria pleraque capta,
pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus interempti.
nam somno et metu insolito inpedita fuga.

100 Dein Marius uti coeperat in hiberna *proficiscitur: nam*
propter conmeatum in oppidis maritumis agere decreuerat.
neque tamen uictoria socors aut insolens factus, sed pariter
2 atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla
cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum
funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum cura-
bat; primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos
3 locauerat; perfugae, minume cari et regionum scientissumi,

hostium iter explorabant. simul consul quasi nullo inposito
omnia prouidere, apud omnis adesse, laudare et increpare
merentis: ipse armatus intentusque item milites cogebat. 4
neque secus atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitum in
portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios
mittere, praeterea alios super uallum in munimentis locare,
uigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum quae
imperauisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore
labor uolentibus esset. et sane Marius illoque aliisque 5
temporibus Iugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo
exercitum coercebat. quod multi per ambitionem fieri
aiebant, pars a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quae
ceteri miserias uocant, uoluptati habuisse: nisi tamen res
publica pariter ac saeuissumo imperio bene atque decore
gesta. igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido 101
Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt: qua re
hostis adesse intellegitur. sed quia diuorsi redeuntes alius 2
ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul
incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine
conmutato aduorsum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. ita 3
Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partis
distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aeque aliquos ab tergo
hostibus uenturos. interim Sulla, quem primum hostes 4
attigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxume
confertis equis ipse aliique Mauros inuadunt, ceteri in loco
manentes ab iaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere et, si qui
in manus uenerant, obtruncare. dum eo modo equites 5
proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius eius
adduxerat, neque in priore pugna in itinere morati adfuerant,
postremam Romanorum aciem inuadunt. tum Marius apud 6
primos agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurumis erat. dein
Numida cognito Bocchi aduentu clam cum paucis ad
pedites conuortit. ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui

didicerat) exclamat nostros frustra pugnare: paulo ante
Marium sua manu interfectum. simul gladium sanguine
oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis inpigre occiso
7 pedite nostro cruentauerat. quod ubi milites accepere,
magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque
barbari animos tollere et in perculsos Romanos acrius
8 incedere. iamque paulum a fuga aberant, cum Sulla,
profligatis eis, quos aduorsum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris
9 incurrit. Bocchus statim auortitur. at Iugurtha, dum
sustentare suos et prope iam adeptam uictoriam retinere
cupit, circumuentus ab equitibus, dextra sinistra omnibus
10 occisis, solus inter tela hostium uitabundus erumpit. atque
interim Marius fugatis equitibus adcurrit auxilio suis, quos
11 pelli iam acceperat. denique hostes iam undique fusi.
tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi,
fugere, occidi, capi, equi atque uiri adflicti, ac multi
uolneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati,
niti modo ac statim concidere, postremo omnia, qua uisus
erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaueribus, et inter ea humus
infecta sanguine.

102 Post ea loci consul haud dubie iam uictor peruenit in
2 oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. eo, post
diem quintum quam iterum barbari male pugnauerant, legati
a Boccho ueniunt, qui regis uerbis ab Mario petiuere, duos
quam fidissumos ad eum mitteret: uelle de se et de populi
3 Romani commodo cum eis disserere. ille statim L. Sullam
et A. Manlium ire iubet. qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen
placuit uerba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut auorsum
4 flecterent aut cupidum pacis uehementius accenderent. ita-
que Sulla, cuius facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum,
pauca uerba huiuscemodi locutus.

5 'Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, cum te talem
uirum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum

malles, neu te optumum cum pessumo omnium Iugurtha
miscendo conmaculares, simul nobis demeres acerbam
necessitudinem, pariter te errantem atque illum sceleratis-
sumum persequi. ad hoc populo Romano iam a principio 6
inopi melius uisum amicos quam seruos quaerere, tutiusque
rati uolentibus quam coactis imperitare. tibi uero nulla 7
opportunior nostra amicitia, primum quia procul absumus,
in quo offensae minumum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus,
dein, quia parentis abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis
neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. atque hoc utinam a 8
principio tibi placuisset: profecto ex populo Romano ad
hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala per-
pessus es. et quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque 9
regit, cui scilicet placuit et uim et gratiam nostram te
experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque ut
coepisti perge. multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius 10
errata officiis superes. postremo hoc in pectus tuum 11
demitte, numquam populum Romanum benificiis victum
esse. nam bello quid ualeat tute scis.'

Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne, simul pauca pro 12
delicto suo uerba facit: se non hostili animo, sed ob
regnum tutandum arma cepisse. nam Numidae partem, 13
unde ui Iugurtham expulerit, iure belli suam factam: eam
uastari a Mario pati nequiuisse. praeterea missis antea 14
Romam legatis repulsum ab amicitia. ceterum uetera
omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum
missurum. dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis 15
flexus, quos Iugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manli
metuens id quod parabatur, donis conruperat.

Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis conposito, cum 103
expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca
sola obsessum turrim regiam, quo Iugurtha perfugas omnis
praesidium imposuerat. tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando 2

quae sibi duobus proeliis uenerant seu admonitus ab aliis
amicis quos inconruptos Iugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia
necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita et
3 ingenia ualidissuma erant. eos ad Marium, ac deinde, si
placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet: agundarum rerum et
quocumque modo belli conponundi licentiam ipsis permittit.
4 illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur, deinde in
itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumuenti spoliatique, pauidi
sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul in expedi-
5 tionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. eos ille non
pro uanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed adcurate ac liberaliter
habuit. qua re barbari et famam Romanorum auaritiae
falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati.
6 nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat: munificus nemo
putabatur nisi pariter uolens, dona omnia in benignitate
7 habebantur. igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt,
simul ab eo petunt uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit, copias,
fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut
beniuolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt. dein,
Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium,
item apud senatum uerba facerent, circiter dies quadra-
ginta ibidem opperiuntur.

104 Marius postquam confecto quo intenderat negotio Cirtam
rediit et de aduentu legatorum certior factus est, illosque et
Sullam [ab Tucca] uenire iubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem
Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum
2 mandata Bocchi cognoscit. in quis, legatis potestas Romam
eundi fieret ab consule, interea indutiae postulabantur.
ea Sullae et plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt,
scilicet ignari rerum humanarum, quae fluxae et mobiles
3 semper in aduorsa mutantur. ceterum Mauri, impetratis
omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octauio
Rusone, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portauerat,

duo ad regem redeunt. ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum
maxume benignitatem et studium Sullae lubens accepit.
Romaeque legatis eius, postquam errasse regem et Iugurthae 4
scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus peten-
tibus hoc modo respondetur: 'senatus et populus Romanus 5
benifici et iniuriae memor esse solet. ceterum Boccho,
quoniam paenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia
dabuntur, cum meruerit.'

Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petiuit **105**
uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cuius arbitratu conmunibus nego-
tiis consuleretur. is missus cum praesidio equitum atque 2
funditorum Balearium. praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors
Paeligna cum uelitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa,
neque his secus atque aliis armis aduorsum tela hostium,
quod ea leuia sunt, muniti. sed in itinere quinto denique 3
die Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patentibus cum
mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et
effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampli-
orem uero et hostilem metum efficiebant. igitur se quisque 4
expedire, arma atque tela temptare intendere: timor
aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe uictoribus et aduorsum
eos quos saepe uicerant. interim equites exploratum prae- 5
missi rem, uti erat, quietam nuntiant. Volux adueniens **106**
quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obuiam
illis, simul et praesidio missum. deinde eum et proxumum
diem sine metu coniuncti eunt. post, ubi castra locata et 2
diei uesper erat, repente Maurus incerto uoltu pauens ad
Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum
Iugurtham haud procul abesse, simul uti noctu clam secum
profugeret rogat atque hortatur. ille animo feroci negat se 3
totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere: uirtuti suorum satis
credere; etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius
quam, proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan

4 post paulo morbo interiturae uitae parceret. ceterum ab
eodem monitus uti noctu proficisceretur, consilium ad-
probat ac statim milites cenatos esse, in castris ignis quam
creberrumos fieri, dein prima uigilia silentio egredi iubet.
5 iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum
ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nuntiant
Iugurtham circiter duum milium interuallo ante eos con-
6 sedisse. quod postquam auditum est, tum uero ingens
metus nostros inuadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insi-
diis circumuentos. ac fuere qui dicerent manu uindicandum,
neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.
107 at Sulla, quamquam eadem existumabat, tamen ab iniuria
Maurum prohibet, suos hortatur uti fortem animum gere-
rent: saepe antea *a* paucis strenuis aduorsum multitudinem
bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent,
tanto tutiores fore, nec quemquam decere, qui manus
armauerit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo
2 metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis uortere. dein
Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Iouem maxumum ob-
testatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex
3 castris abire iubet. ille lacrumans orare ne ea crederet:
nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Iugurthae, cui
4 uidelicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. ceterum,
quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes
opesque eius ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil
5 palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: qua re op-
tumum factu uideri per media eius castra palam transire:
sese, uel praemissis uel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum
6 Sulla iturum. ea res uti in tali negotio probata. ac statim
profecti, quia de inprouiso acciderant, dubio atque haesi-
7 tante Iugurtha incolumes transeunt. deinde paucis diebus
quo ire intenderant peruentum est.
108 Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine multum

et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Iugurtha, postquam
Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum
Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar Massugradae filius, ex
gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere inpar (nam pater
eius ex concubina ortus erat), Mauro ob ingeni multa bona
carus acceptusque. quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis 2
multis ante tempestatibus expertus ilico ad Sullam nunti-
atum mittit, paratum sese facere quae populus Romanus
uellet, conloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret, neu
Iugurthae legatum pertimesceret: consulto sese omnia cum
illo integra habere, quo res conmunis licentius gereretur:
nam ab insidiis eius aliter caueri nequiuisse. sed ego 3
conperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea, quae
praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinu-
isse, multumque cum animo suo uoluere solitum, Iugurtham
Romanis an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem aduorsum nos,
metum pro nobis suasisse. igitur Sulla respondit pauca se 109
coram Aspare locuturum, cetera occulte nullo aut quam
paucissumis praesentibus; simul edocet quae sibi respon-
derentur. postquam sicuti uoluerat congressi, dicit se 2
missum a consule uenisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem an
bellum agitaturus foret. tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, 3
post diem decumum redire iubet, ac nihil etiam nunc
decreuisse, sed illo die responsurum. deinde ambo in
sua castra digressi. sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, 4
Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur. ab utroque tantum-
modo fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar inter-
nuntius, sanctus uir et ex sententia ambobus. ac statim
sic rex incipit.

'Numquam ego ratus sum fore uti, rex maxumus in hac 110
terra et omnium quos noui, priuato homini gratiam
deberem. et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis 2
orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigus.

3 id inminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor.
fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando pretium tuae amicitiae,
4 qua apud meum animum nihil carius habeo. id adeo
experiri licet: arma, uiros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid
animo lubet sume, utere, et, quoad uiues, numquam tibi
redditam gratiam putaueris: semper apud me integra
5 erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra uoles. nam, ut
ego aestumo, regem armis quam munificentia uinci minus
6 flagitiosum est. ceterum de re publica uostra, cuius
curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. bellum ego populo
Romano neque feci neque factum umquam uolui, at finis
7 meos aduorsum armatos armis tutatus sum. id omitto,
quando uobis ita placet. gerite quod uoltis cum Iugurtha
8 bellum. ego flumen Muluccham, quod inter me et Micip-
sam fuit, non egrediar, neque id intrare Iugurtham sinam.
praeterea siquid meque uobisque dignum petiueris, haud
repulsus abibis.'

111 Ad ea Sulla pro se breuiter et modice, de pace et com-
munibus rebus multis disseruit. denique regi patefecit,
quod polliceretur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam
armis amplius ualuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faci-
undum ei aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse
uideretur. id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam copiam
Iugurthae haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut
illi plurumum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae
2 partem, quam nunc peteret, tum ultro aduenturam. rex
primo negitare: cognationem, adfinitatem, praeterea foedus
interuenisse. ad hoc metuere ne fluxa fide usus popularium
animos auorteret, quis et Iugurtha carus et Romani inuisi
3 erant. denique saepius fatigatus lenitur et ex uoluntate
4 Sullae omnia se facturum promittit: ceterum ad simu-
landam pacem, cuius Numida defessus bello auidis-
sumus erat, quae utilia uisa constituunt. ita conposito dolo

digrediuntur. at rex postero die Asparem Iugurthae lega- **112**
tum appellat dicitque sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum
posse condicionibus bellum poni: quam ob rem regis sui
sententiam exquireret. ille laetus in castra Iugurthae 2
proficiscitur. deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus properato
itinere post diem octauum redit ad Bocchum et ei nuntiat
Iugurtham cupere omnia quae imperarentur facere, sed
Mario parum confidere: saepe antea cum imperatoribus
Romanis pacem conuentam frustra fuisse. ceterum Boc- 3
chus si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem uellet, daret
operam ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium
ueniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet: cum talem uirum in
potestatem habuisset, tum fore uti iussu senatus aut populi
foedus fieret, neque hominem nobilem non sua ignauia sed
ob rem publicam in hostium potestate relictum iri. haec **113**
Maurus secum ipse diu uoluens tandem promisit, ceterum
dolo an uere cunctatus parum comperimus. sed plerumque
regiae uoluntates ut uehementes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae
sibi aduorsae. postea tempore et loco constituto in 2
colloquium uti de pace ueniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo,
modo Iugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem
ambobus polliceri. illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni
esse. sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio 3
decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis ac statim inmutata
uoluntate remotis, dicitur secum ipse multum agitauisse,
uoltu et oculis pariter atque animo uarius: quae scilicet
tacente ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse. tamen postremo 4
Sullam accersi iubet, et ex illius sententia Numidae insidias
tendit. deinde ubi dies aduenit, et ei nuntiatum est 5
Iugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et
quaestore nostro quasi obuius honoris causa procedit in
tumulum facillumum uisu insidiantibus. eodem Numida 6
cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat,

adcedit, ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis
7 inuaditur. ceteri obtruncati: Iugurtha Sullae uinctus traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

114 Per idem tempus aduorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum. quo metu
2 Italia omnis contremuit. illique et usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere: alia omnia uirtuti suae prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certari.
3 sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Iugurtham Romam uinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus est, et ei decreta prouincia Gallia, isque
4 calendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul triumphauit. et ea tempestate spes atque opes ciuitatis in illo sitae.

NOTES.

R. = *Roby's Latin Grammar.*

Chapter I.

1 **aeui breuis**] gen. of quality. This, or the abl., S. uses freely, for variety, along with an adj. (or a series of them). Cp. 64. 5 *homo inanis et regiae superbiae*; for abl. 5. 1, 20. 2, 46. 3, 63. 7, 65. 1, 66. 2, 78. 2, 85. 39.

regatur] subj. of virtual Or. Obl. 'is ruled, *as they say*.' R. 1744.

2 **contra**] qualifies the whole sentence, not *reputando* (which almost = *si reputes*: cp. 81. 4).

uim...tempus] refer respectively to *inbecilla—aeui breuis*.

3 **pollens potensque**] The Romans were fond of joining synonymous expressions, esp. where there was similarity of sound. Cp. 41. 9 *sine modo modestiaque*.

neque fortuna eget] refutes *forte regatur* above. Men's natural powers do not require the aid of good Fortune, for Fortune cannot give or take away good qualities.

aliasque] S. often puts *que* with the last word only of an enumeration, if that word be *alius* or *ceterus*: cp. 3. 2, 19. 1, 36. 1 etc., and 34. 1, 43. 3, 64. 1, 85. 41, 87. 2 where *atque* and *et* are similarly used.

artis] 'qualities,' as often in S.

4 **ad inertiam etc.**] 'after a brief enjoyment of its fatal propensity it has sunk into a state of lethargy and sensual pleasure.' *Pessum* seems to be acc. of a noun (not found in other forms) meaning 'bottom' 'ground' (√ *ped*, seen in *pes*): *pessum ire* = 'go to the bottom,' 'sink' (intr.); *p. dare*, 'send to the bottom,' 'sink' (tr.). Cp. 42. 4, and *uenum dare*, *uenum ire* (28. 1, 96. 6).

diffluxere] 'have been wasted'—with the idea of decay in the case of *uires*, *ingenium*.

auctores] seems to stand for *a. culpae*, 'those responsible for the failure,' as in Liu. 45. 10. 12 *culpam in auctores uerterat*, 'bring the blame home to those to whom it belonged.' Here tr. 'those responsible

shift the blame from themselves (*suam*: 'which really belongs to them') to their task.' S. is protesting against the excuse *ars longa, uita breuis*.

5 **quanto**]=*quantum est studium quo*.

multum] qualifies *periculosa*.

neque etc.] The apodosis begins here. *Neque...et* is common enough in Latin: cp. 20. 5, 31. 16, 49. 5 etc. In Engl. we must be content to tr. *neque* as though it were simply *non*.

magis quam] 'so much as': cp. 36. 3.

pro] 'instead of.'

Chapter II.

1 **anima**] generally=the vital principle, as e.g. where Juvenal (15. 147 sqq.) says the Creator gave to animals *tantum animas, nobis animum quoque*. However here it clearly=*animo* of Cat. 1. 2 *nostra omnis uis in animo et corpore sita est*.

corporis alia etc.] each of them takes after one of the two: some after the body, some after the mind.

secuntur] 'fall to' 'belong to,' as in e.g. Liu. 33. 13. 10 *ut belli praeda Romanos sequeretur*.

2 **praeclara facies** etc.] Ancient philosophers (e.g. Plato) divided 'things good' into (1) goods of the mind, (2) goods of the body and (3) property and the like. Here, as often, (2) and (3) are reckoned together, as *diuitiae* shews: cp. § 3, *corporis et fortunae bonorum*.

ad hoc] a favourite expression of S.'s for 'moreover.'

huiuscemodi] *-ce* is a demonstrative particle sometimes added to those forms of *ille* and *iste* which end in *s*. In old Latin (e.g. Plautus) we find it, with the *e* dropped, added to the other forms: cp. *illunc* (acc.), *illic* (dat.). *Ecce* probably shews the same particle (*en-ce*). Cp. e.g. 4. 8, 5. 3, 9. 4.

facinora] used simply as='deed' and requiring a defining adj.: so e.g. 5. 4, 30. 3.

3 **agit**] governs *cuncta*, 'guides.' **habet**, 'sways.'

neque] 'without being': cp. 11. 9.

4 **prauitas**] 'perversity.'

Chapter III.

1 **eis**] *artibus animi*.

imperia] *Imperium* denotes the power of the *higher* magistrates (dictator, consul, praetor) which manifested itself most clearly in military duties. So *magistratus* here practically acquires the meaning of 'civil duties.' Cp. *imperia et honores* 4. 7.

rerum publicarum] 'politics.'

hac tempestate] Intr. p. ix.

uirtuti] 'merit.' **honos**, 'the honours of office.' S. is really playing on the two meanings of the word (1) 'magistracy,' (2) 'honour': hence *honesti* below.

quibus...fuit] 'who have got it.'

2 **nam** etc.] S. has just said magistrates nowadays are not safe or honoured because of their position. Now he gives the proofs. If they use *force*, that is tyranny, and the natural end will be a tyrant's fate—even if their aims are good. If they don't use force, and keep to constitutional means they will find themselves powerless and only get unpopular: only a fool would do this (and a fool is not honoured: see on § 3).

quidem] is the Greek μὲν, 'on the one hand,' and is answered by *autem* below.

parentes] doubtless means 'one's parents'; one ought not to use violence to one's country, any more than one should to them. [This is made practically certain by the 7th letter of Plato which S. is using here: πατέρα...ἢ μητέρα οὐχ ὅσιον προσβιάζεσθαι.]

possis] As *quamquam* takes the ind., the subjunctive here cannot be dependent on it, but is potential. Cp. 31. 28 n. and R. 1546. Tr. 'though, it is true, one might be able to.'

inportunum] 'oppressive,' 'the act of a tyrant.' The adj. is regularly used of tyrants and their ways: cp. e.g. Cic. Rep. 1. 33, Verr. II. 5. 40. 103, Liu. 29. 17. 20.

mutationes] '*attempts* to alter.'

portendant] 'are the prelude to, signal for.'

3 **frustra** etc.] Is S. thinking of such people as Caesar's colleague Bibulus and Cato?

dementiae] The thought is, 'and one who is guilty of folly cannot be regarded as *honestus*.' Cp. 107. 1 where he translates the 'it is foolish' of his Greek original by *nec decere*.

4 **nisi forte** etc.] The protasis suppressed is: 'one of these two fates is necessary': cp. 31. 20. S. means 'Of course there is a third possibility: one can serve as a ladder for others (such as Pompey) to climb by.'

inhonesta et perniciosa] To use force might be fatal, to try to effect reforms constitutionally brought contempt. This third method is open to *both* objections.

paucorum] the oligarchs, the *nobilitas*: cp. 31. 2 and 8. 1 n.

gratificari] 'sacrifice.' For the infinitive after *lubido tenet*, on the analogy of *lubet* etc., cp. R. 1344 (end).

CHAPTER IV.

1 **memoria]** 'recording.'

2 **simul ne]** Observe how S. secures variety: he has two reasons for omitting: one is introduced by *quia*, the other by *ne*: cp. 25. 5, where the reasons are given by a *quod* clause and a participle.

per insolentiam] goes with *extollere*.

memet] *Met* is a pronominal suffix added to *all* cases of the substantive pronouns (*tutemet* is the form for the 2nd sing.: in 85. 35. S. contents himself with *tute*) and to the abl. sing. and acc. pl. of the adjective pronouns. R. 389.

3 **atque]** and there will be people ready to believe this.

certe quibus] as if *nonnulli imponent* preceded, 'at least, those who think...will do so.'

salutare plebem et conuiuiis gratiam quaerere] For the former purpose the candidate was accompanied in his walks abroad by the *nomenclator* who pointed out to him those whom it was important he should greet: cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 6. 49 sqq. As regards the 'free meals' the law seems to have been very vague. Apparently if a man confined them to the members of his own tribe no one would complain—but few did thus limit themselves. Cicero's client Murena was charged with having gone too far herein (*ad prandium uulgo uocati*), and Cicero defends the practice as indispensable: *nec plebi eripiendi fructus isti sunt ludorum, gladiatorum, conuiuiorum...nec candidatis ista benignitas adimenda est, quae liberalitatem magis significat quam largitionem* (Mur. 77). Cp. also Quint. Cic. de pet. cons. 11. 44, Hor. Ep. 1. 19. 37—8.

4 **qui]** refers to all who call his work *inertia*.

ego...magistratus adeptus sim] Intr. pp. ix, x.

genera hominum] Julius Caesar increased the numbers of the senate, without, apparently, keeping up its character. Some of the new members were *peregrini* (a skit of the day suggested that everyone should refuse to guide them to the senate house and so prevent their sitting there!) and some, as Mommsen says, 'dubious and plebeian personages.' Antonius seems to have gone still further in this direction.

5 **Q. Maxumum]** the Q. Fabius Maximus of the 2nd Punic war. *P. Scipio* will be his younger contemporary, who ended that war. For both, see 5. 4 n.

imagines] waxen masks representing deceased members of the house who had held a curule (i.e. higher) magistracy. At funerals they were worn by actors who marched in the processions. They were kept in the *atrium*: whether they were there affixed to busts, or even full figure statuettes is quite doubtful. *Figura* in § 6 might suggest the latter, but may only mean 'shape given to the wax.'

6 **scilicet]** introduces S.'s comment. It takes acc. and inf. in the older writers (cp. 113. 3) by virtue of its literal meaning, *scire licet*, 'you must know.'

7 **his moribus]** 'in the present state of our national character,' or 'of society.'

non] 'instead of.'

homines noui] men who were the first of their family to hold curule office. Therewith their family entered the *nobilitas* and shared the advantage which all *nobiles* enjoyed when seeking office. For, although it was *legal* for any Roman to hold the higher magistracies, in practice the aristocracy made it extremely difficult for any one outside their pale to do so. Cp. what is said by S. in 63. 6 and 7.

anteuenire] 'outdo.'

latrocinia] 'open robbery.'

imperia et honores] 3. 1 n.

8 **praetura et consulatus]** the two highest ordinary magistracies. In Sallust's time the praetors' duties were mainly judicial. Caesar had raised their number from 8 successively to 10, 14 and 16.

perinde habeantur etc.] lit. 'are possessed according as is the character,' and tr. freely 'as though it did not depend on the character...whether the possession of them is an honour or no.' Cp. 8. 2 *periculose emi*, 'the purchase was dangerous.' For the thought cp. 31. 10.

sustinent] the offices so far from bringing distinction require to be 'lived up to,' 'supported.'

9 **altius]** a metaphor from sailing, 'too far' out to sea.

dum me...piget] 'in my weariness': cp. 42. 4.

CHAPTER V.

1 **uaria uictoria]** 1. 1 n.

2 **diuina et humana cuncta]** simply means 'absolutely all that exists,' a strengthened *cuncta*. Cp. 31. 9 and 20, the similar use of *dei atque homines* and Liu. 2. 5. 7 *patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset*.

permiscuit] 'brought confusion into': cp. 12. 5, 41. 10.

studiis] governed by *finem faceret*: cp. 10. 3.

3 **pauca supra repetam]** lit. 'go back to a few points earlier,' i.e. 'belonging to an earlier period.'

4 **bello Punico secundo**] the great war of 218—202 in which Hannibal invaded Italy but, after gaining several victories (notably the decisive one of Cannae in 216), was foiled by the evasive tactics of Q. Fabius Maximus and, after the defeat of his brother who was bringing reinforcements (in 207), was forced by Scipio's invasion of Africa to return thither. Here the decisive battle of Zama ended the war in Rome's favour.

post] 'since the beginning of....' The *magnitudo* dates from 275 when the invader Pyrrhus was finally repulsed at Beneventum.

Masinissa] fought for Carthage in Spain, but after a great victory of Scipio's made overtures to him. On his return to Africa he was attacked by his old neighbour and rival Syphax and the Carthaginians, but Scipio's invasion of the country saved him. He commanded the right wing at Zama.

Africano] is really in apposition to *cui*: cp. 79. 5 and R. 1059.

Syphace] see above.

magnum atque late...ualuit] It is, I think, love of variety that has led S. to combine adj. and adv. Take *magnum* predicatively, and tr. 'its power was the power of a great kingdom and reached far.'

manu] = *ui*.

5 **sed**] is often a mere connecting particle in S. [= δέ], to be rendered 'now,' or 'and': cp. 17. 3, 28. 6, 40. 5, 48. 3, 63. 3 (where it introduces a digression). 'Now his power (and so his friendly policy) was ended only by death.' [If an adversative force for *sed* is thought necessary, one may take it as marking the transition to circumstances less favourable to peaceful relations with Rome.]

6 **optinuit**, 'governed'; cp. 16. 2.

7 **quem**] refers to Iugurtha. **priuatum**: i.e. without any claim to the throne.

cultu] manner of life, education: 75. 1, 95. 2.

habuit] 'kept,' 'had him brought up.'

Chapter VI.

1 **decora facie**] is probably abl. of quality: cp. 1. 1 n.

luxu] the old form of the dative. [Almost all our good MSS. have *luxui*, but those of two late writers who cite this passage have preserved the old form.]

2 **paruis liberis**] abl. absolute, parallel to *exacta sua aetate*.

negotio] The word is often used by S. as equivalent to *res*, with, however, the idea of difficulty, or, as here, danger.

cum animo suo] the mind being looked on as an adviser. Cp. the same phrase 108. 3, *c. a. habere* (11. 8), *reputare* (13. 5, 70. 6, 85. 10), *trahere* (93. 1).

3 **natura**] i.e. the *thought* that men are naturally desirous. Cp. 31. 1 *ius nullum*, 91. 5 *pars ciuium extra moenia*: so often the acc. and inf., as subject to a verb; cp. 28. 1.

opportunitas suae...aetatis] 'the chance offered by his age,' a subjective genitive. *Quae* of course refers to *opp.* alone, *not* to *opp. aetatis*: 'and a favourable chance....'

mediocris] almost 'unambitious': cp. 8. 1, 89. 2.

transuorsos agit] lit. 'drives them crosswise,' i.e. off the road, astray. So Cato has *transuorsum trudere a recte consulendo atque intelligendo* of the effect upon men of their delight at success. Perhaps S. adapted the phrase from him (see Intr. p. xvi[5]): he has it again at 14. 20: otherwise Seneca is the only author in whom this metaphorical sense of *transuorsus* is at all common.

interfecisset] the mood is due to that of *oriretur*: for the tense see on 8. 1.

Chapter VII.

1 **per uim...insidiis**] variation, Intr. p. xix.

quod...militaris] of course explains *statuit obiectare periculis*.

gloriae] For this objective gen., depending on an adj. or participle, cp. *frugum fertilis* 17. 5, *patiens laborum* ib. 6, R. 1314.

2 **bello Numantino**] Numantia was the headquarters of the Celtiberi in their war with Rome about 153 B.C. It stood a siege from 141—133: owing to the weak discipline of the Roman army and the incapacity of its generals the inhabitants were able to defy the besiegers and inflict serious blows upon them until the younger Scipio was sent out in 134. He quickly remedied the state of the army and reduced the city in the following year.

4 **ut erat** etc.] 'with his industry and vigour.' There are at least three good ways of turning into Latin such a sentence as, 'you with your usual kindness (will do this or the like)': (1) *pro tua beneuolentia*, (2) *qua* (or *quanta*) *tu es beneuolentia*, (3) *ut es beneuolus*.

modestissume, 'implicitly,' 'absolutely.' *Modestia*, the opposite of *licentia*, is just the word for that obedience to discipline which Scipio made it his object to restore in the army: so 44. 1, 92. 2 *modesto imperio*.

5 **in primis**] 'especially,' is very rarely used with the superlative.

ex prouidentia timorem] 'fear, the natural outcome of seeing clearly

what is coming': for *ex*, cp. 39. 2, 40. 5. For the thought, cp. Thucydides (2. 40) 'Other people get their courage from ignorance: reflection brings hesitation.'

6 **erat]** R. 1711. S. always has the ind. after *quippe qui*, but he should not be imitated herein.

7 **quis]**=*quibus*: cp. 13. 6, 14. 10, etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 **noui]** 4. 7.

factiosi] influential by means of the *factio* or oligarchical clique, as in 15. 4. What *factio* means to S., he shews in 31. 15 where he says that to be united by sharing the same desires, hatreds and fears is *inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio*. Cp. 29. 2, 31. 4 (where *factionis potentiae=potentiae paucorum* of 3. 4) and 41. 6 (where it is opposed to *uis soluta atque dispersa*).

socios] the provincials, whom the Romans honoured with this empty title in preference to that of 'subjects': cp. 88. 3.

mediocrem] 6. 3.

si...occidisset] a very important use of the tense. Their *words* were *si occiderit* etc., 'if he dies.' In passing into Or. Obl. this subordinate clause necessarily becomes subjunctive: the *tense* depends on that of the governing verb, a primary requiring perf. subj., a secondary (as here *pollicitando accendebant*), the plpf. The same rule applies to clauses 'attracted' into the subjunctive. So 10. 1, 25. 7, 28. 4, 64. 3, 65. 3 (two) etc., and cp. 6. 3 above. Similarly the future becomes pres. or impf. subj.: 33. 3, 38. 9, 77. 1, 103. 3.

imperi] A gen. usually follows *potior* in S., though, except in the phrase *rerum potiri*, the construction is rare elsewhere. Cp. 13. 5 and especially 74. 3.

in ipso etc.] From *pollicitando* is evolved a simple verb of saying. This is a very common idiom in S. and Livy: cp. e.g. 12. 3 (where the acc. and inf. depends on *promissis onerat inpellitque*), 14. 20 (after *ambire, fatigare*), 54. 1 (after *hortor*, and often after this verb or *oro*: 56. 4, 77. 1; cp. after *peto* 102. 2), 79. 8 (after *optionem faciunt*), 109. 3 (after *iubet*). Less remarkable is the equally common use of such verbs as *moneo, suadeo*, first, as verbs of advising, with *ut* and the subj., then, as verbs of saying, with acc. and inf.: see for *moneo* § 2 below (cp. 49. 2), *suadeo* 26. 1, *instituo* 14. 18, *statuo* 88. 4.

2 **pro contione]** 'before the assembled army.'

praetorium] the general's tent. *Praetor* (*prae-itor*) was originally applied to the general of an army. Though it had lost this meaning in ordinary parlance (4. 8 n.), the military vocabulary preserved traces thereof in this word *praetorium* and in the *cohors praetoria* or general's bodyguard (Intr. p. xxvii).

publice...priuatim] 'by services to the state rather than to individuals.' So below, *pauci* and *multi*.

quibus] from *quis* 'any one.'

periculose...emi] see § 1 above for the construction of this acc. and inf.

permanere...in suis artibus] 'abide by, keep to his present ways': cp. *in bonis artibus retinebat* 41. 2.

ultro] 'unsought.' The word means that something more than could be expected happens: so here, not only will he get it, but it will come to him. Cp. 15. 1: 'so far from Adherbal's being injured he is the aggressor,' where 'actually' will do, as often. See 43. 4 and esp. 110. 2, 111. 1.

CHAPTER IX.

1 **redderet]** observe the final subj.

2 **idem]** is masc. and simply means Iugurtha: cp. 31. 12. With *sit* repeat *carus*: tr. 'and that he may also be dear to....'

pro] 'as befits': cp. 11. 1, 14. 16 etc. and the use of it in 7. 4 n. (first example).

en] as if he were handing Iug. back to him. Cp. Verg. Ecl. 6. 69 *hos tibi dant calamos, en, accipe, Musae*.

suo] for *eius*, because Iugurtha is foremost in Scipio's mind: as if he had said *mihi crede, uir est dignus*, etc.: cp. 54. 7, 73. 4.

3 **gratia]** that is, with the Romans.

uincere] The inf. after *aggredi* is found even in Cicero: cp. 21. 3, 75. 2.

statim] as Numantia fell in 133 and Iugurtha presumably returned at once, certainly implies 'soon after 133.' Yet in 11. 6 Hiempsal, speaking just after Micipsa's death, which took place in 118, says the *adoptatio* had taken place 'within the last 3 years,' i.e. some time in the period 121—118. S. is notoriously careless about these matters (Intr. pp. xiv, xv) and doubtless did not think the matter out. Observe too that we pass from Iugurtha's return to Micipsa's death by means of the three expressions: (1) *statim* § 3, (2) *paucos post annos* § 4 and (3) *paucis post diebus* 11. 2, and yet the period is one of 15 years!

CHAPTER X.

1 **in regnum...accepi]** recognised as a successor: cp. 11. 6, 22. 2. Of course he had not done so until Iug. was grown up (9. 3), but pretends that it had been his intention all along (cp. 5. 7).

genuissem] 8. 1 n.: he thought '*si genuero*.'

ob benificia] is an explanatory addition, applying only to *tibi* (not to *liberis*) *carum fore*. Tr. 'in your case, because of the kindnesses....'

falsum...habuit] Generally where *habeo* and a past participle passive are conjoined, the verb means 'keep' or 'consider' or 'get': cp. the phrase *compertum habere* and in Cicero *inclusum habere*, *deportatas habere*. Here however, as in one or two other passages, it is difficult to see wherein the expr. differs from *fefellit*.

2 **meque regnumque]** Intr. p. xvii: outside S. *que...que...* is confined to poetry. Cp. 21. 4, 79. 9, 85. 47, 100. 5, 110. 8, and 26. 1 n.

in Hispania] Masinissa had fought there: 5. 4 n.

inuidiam uicisti] 6. 1 *cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse*.

3 **dexteram]** the right hand was given in bargains etc. as a pledge of truth and is often appealed to, as the outward symbol of a man's honour. Of course it is Iugurtha's hand.

regni fidem] is a very obscure phrase, meaning, I think, 'the loyalty due to the kingdom' of which the speaker had given him a share. Cp. 24. 10 where *fides amicitiae* is 'loyalty due to friendship.'

propinqui] being his cousins.

4 **parare]** 'buy,' a not uncommon meaning of the word, preserved in the modern Italian *comprare* (*comparare*): cp. 31. 11, 33. 2, 35. 4.

queas] potential subj.: cp. 60. 4 and R. 1544.

5 **hostis]** a strong word intentionally substituted for *inimicus*.

6 **equidem]** here simply an emphatic particle, as often in S. (e.g. 85. 26). He has however the other use (=*ego quidem*).

7 **ante]** 'more than,' 'rather than,' lit. 'sooner than.' *Ante aliquem esse*, 'to surpass,' is not uncommon, but I do not know of any example quite like this.

qui...es] Most Latin writers would put *sis* (after *qui* causal) but S. affects the indicative (Intr. p. xvii).

opulentior est] 'has more resources.'

8 **liberos]** As M. had adopted only one son, S. is sacrificing a little to his desire for brevity.

CHAPTER XI.

1 **pro]** 'as befitted,' 9. 2 n.

2 **paucis post diebus]** 9. 3 n.

illi] is dative.

iusta] regularly used of the funeral rites and dues.

fecerant] Do not imitate this use of plpf. after *postquam*, which, in S. as in other writers, generally takes the perfect: cp. however 44. 4, 79. 4 etc.

reguli] The diminutive, as each had only a share in the *regnum*.

3 **despiciens]** with *iam antea* clearly refers to the past: *qui despiciebat* or *despexerat* would be 'safer' Latin. However the contempt still existed, so one may cp. the use of a present with *iamdudum*. *Inferentem* in 15. 1 is bolder still: see there.

adsedit] 'took his seat,' from *adsīdĕre*: cp. 16. 5 n.

apud Numidas] and among the Romans too, though one would certainly infer the opposite from S.'s words.

honori ducitur] *Habere*, *dare*, *ducere* are the only verbs that are used with any frequency with predicative datives, which in the vast majority of cases go with *esse*.

4 **concederet]** 'make way for,' i.e. 'yield in consideration of': cp. 102. 4 *cuius facundiae, non aetati concessum*.

transductus] 'induced to move.'

5 **iacit]** 'lets fall the remark,' taking the acc. and inf.

quinquenni] sc. *proximi*, 'of the last 5 years.'

6 **nam** etc.] is still acc. and inf., so tr. 'for, he said.' For the statement see 9. 3 n.

7 **uerbum]** 'expression': a meaning almost confined to the comic writers: *uox* is the regular word.

ratus erat] i.e. at the time, as opposed to later on, when the truth was seen. As however the Latin for 'I should not have thought' is *non putaram* (i.e. 'I never had thought') it is possible the meaning here is 'than any one would have expected.'

descendit] Cp. 102. 11 *hoc in pectus tuum demitte*.

8 **moliri, parare, atque...habere]** S. does not keep very strictly to the rule observed by the majority of Latin writers according to which in enumerations a connecting particle must not be put with the last member only. S.'s way of joining two words together without any

connecting particle (see on 14. 11) often makes it possible that he regards two of the words as forming a single expression (as here *moliri parare*: cp. 58. 3 n.). But in other cases this explanation is difficult, or impossible: cp. 14. 7, 11, 21, 23; 18. 4; 77. 3; 85. 45; 96. 3. See also on 1. 3 (*aliasque*) and 51. 1.

9 **neque lenitur]** 'without...being mollified': cp. 2. 3 n.

Chapter XII.

2 **maturius]** agrees with *tempus*.

alius alio] In this constr. (cp. 14. 15, 46. 4, 49. 4, 50. 5 etc.) the pair of words must always be repeated in the mind. Thus, the full sense here is *alius alio concessit, alius alio*, 'one went off one way, another went off another way,' i.e. they went off in different directions.

3 **proxumus lictor]** stands here causally=*quod p. l. erat*. S. is fond of such appositional clauses: cp. 50. 6, and for concessive ones 35. 7, 84. 1. The Roman magistrate was preceded in public by his lictors, marching in single file. The last of these seems to have occupied a superior position to the others: orders would be given to him first and he would naturally be on more intimate terms with the magistrate. Probably the post was often held by one of the latter's poorer *clientes*. Whether such a custom, or indeed the use of lictors at all, existed in Numidia is another matter. Cp. 49. 2 where S. speaks of the *turmae* and *manipuli* (distinctly Roman divisions) of Iug.'s army, and the use of *legio*='army' in 79. 4 n.

sua uisens] 'to look after his belongings.' *Visurus* was not necessary, as *uisere* means 'go to see.'

referebantur] impf. of frequency—every evening.

ceterum etc.] From *promissis onerat* we evolve a verb of saying, to govern this acc. and inf.: see 8. 1 n.

5 **diuorsi]** 'dividing,' as in 50. 5, 55. 7, 87. 4: cp. also 46. 4 *alium ab alio diuorsos*.

miscere] 5. 2.

cum...reperitur] In sentences of this kind, where *cum* introduces what is really the main clause, it regularly takes the indicative: R. 1733, Bradley's Arnold 435. Cp. 49. 4, 51. 2, 60. 6, 101. 8, 106. 5 and 98. 2 n.

6 Observe the brevity of the description: the actual slaying is passed over.

Chapter XIII.

1 **illum]** is here little more than an article: cp. 16. 5, 73. 4.

bello] abl. So we find *bonus pace*, *bonus militia*, but 49. 2 *belli meliores*.

4 **prouinciam]** the Roman province of Africa, founded after the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. and comprising the territory of that state as it existed in its last days—the narrow border of coast opposite Sicily. See Map, where however the boundary is only shewn roughly. That given in most maps is the later boundary line: at this time Vaga and Zama, for instance, were clearly outside the province.

5 **Numidiae]** 8. 1 n.

potiebatur] as the tense shows, the verb must mean here 'be in possession of.'

6 **possint]** would have stood in the indicative but for the subjunctive 'atmosphere' in which it stands (*expleant*, *adquirant*, *cunctentur*).

ne cunctentur] comes very late: it almost looks as if he had intended to write simply *parent*. Cp. however *ut* in 38. 3, 65. 2, 113. 2 and the order in 40. 3, 54. 2 (*Iugurtha*).

8 **spe]** that is, of reward.

consuleretur] 'decree...be passed.' These impersonal constructions are most simply rendered by a noun and a verb in English: cp. 25. 1, 28. 3, 40. 1, 41. 7. For this meaning of *consulo* cp. *senatus consultum* For the impersonal use of it in other meanings see e.g. 105. 1, 112. 3.

9 **senatus]** as we should say, 'an audience of the senate.'

utrisque] 'both parties,' the legati and Adherbal: 18. 12 n.

accepimus] Intr. p. xiv[4].

Chapter XIV.

1 **Patres conscripti]** The Romans themselves explain this phrase as consisting of two words standing side by side without a connecting particle (so often in old legal forms like *sarta tecta*, lit. 'repaired and covered,' i.e. in good repair), *patres* meaning the original (*patrician*) senators, *conscripti* those added, according to tradition, at the commencement of the Republic (see Liu. 2. 1. 10, 11). Even if this is true (and one objection to the explanation is that *adscripti* would be the natural word to use) the Romans of S.'s time ignored it: Cicero writes *pater conscriptus* for a senator.

procurationem] Compare the grovelling language of Masinissa's ambassador in Liu. 45. 13. 15: *Masinissam usu regni contentum scire dominium et ius eorum qui dederint esse.*

militiae] a locative, like *domi*. The use of it, as in 84. 2, without the other locative, is rare, but cp. the use of *belli* (41. 7 n.).

esse] after *eniterer*: see 17. 1 n.

cognatorum] depends on *in...locum*. The order is bold, but not too bold for S.: cp. 78. 2.

in adfinium locum ducerem] 'set you in the place of.' *Ducere* in this meaning generally takes the ablative (with or without *in*), but the other construction is quite possible, as the word easily implies motion. So *referre* and *ponere* are found taking *in* and the acc.: cp. too *in prouinciam...conlocat* 61. 2. Probably the metaphor is a bookkeeping one, in which case cp. 85. 26, 111. 1. [The (*in*) *adfinium loco* of certain MSS. seems generally adopted, but to me looks much more like a correction.]

2 **agitarem**] 'was practising.'

ab stirpe] 'from birth.' By the granting of the title *socius atque amicus* the Romans implied recognition of a king's title: cp. 24. 3, 77. 2, 104. 4, and for such recognition 65. 2.

3 **atque**] 'now.'

uenturus eram] 'was doomed to.'

uellem etc.] A good example of S.'s love of variety. The verb takes (1) a directly dependent subj., *possem* (cp. 24. 9), (2) an acc. and inf., *deberi beneficia*, (3) an *ut* clause, *uti uterer*.

maxume] 'above all,' 'if possible' as the best thing, as opposed to *secundum ea*: cp. 35. 4, 46. 4 [μάλιστα μέν]. 'I should like Rome to owe me favours, but myself not to require them.'

secundum ea...uterer] 'short of this (lit. 'next to this'), I would wish that, if I must require them, I could feel I was enjoying favours that were my due.' With *debitis* of course supply *beneficiis*.

4 **in manu fuit**] i.e. I have not the power to make him a good character. Cp. § 13, 31. 5 and Ter. Hec. 667 *uxor quid faciat, in manu non est mea.*

5 **in suis dubiis rebus**] It would be difficult to adduce an example where in such a case Rome admitted them to an alliance.

bello Carthaginiensi] 5. 4 n.

magis fides eius quam fortuna petunda erat] S. has sacrificed clearness to the charms of brevity and alliteration. He means: it was rather the knowledge that Rome was a loyal ally and would help them in *their* hour of need that was the attraction, than her actual position at the time, hard put to it as she was by Hannibal. Tr. freely 'we had to hope for her promise to help rather than rely on her position at the time.'

6 **quorum**] by a 'sense-construction' refers back to *familia*: cp. 28. 2, 35. 6 n., 91. 4, 95. 1, 102. 6.

7 **atque**] 11. 8 n.

deformatus] 'with prestige lowered.'

erat maiestatis] With *debere*, the gerund and similar constructions, the indicative is regularly used in the apodosis of conditional sentences: Bradley's Arnold, 461. Cp. also 85. 48 (*decebat*). In some cases the verb in the indicative is really quite independent of the protasis; as here, in any case, to help the suppliant was in character with the *maiestas* of Rome. But the use of the imperfect shews that the tense of the protasis had influence.

8 **uerum**] 'but in point of fact.'

Syphacem et Carthaginiensis] 5. 4: besides this it was Masinissa's policy of encroachment that hastened on the third Punic war.

9 **me miserum**] exclamatory acc., 'unfortunate that I am.' R. 1128: cp. *urbem uenalem* 35. 10.

hucine] For the *i* inserted between *huc* and *-ne* cp. *sic-i-ne*.

potissumum] lit. 'in preference to all others,' 'of all men.' Note the word, and cp. § 15 below, 30. 4, 67. 1. So *potissumus* 94. 2.

uorsabitur] 'be familiar with.'

10 **iure**] 'naturally enough.'

ab] 'on' or 'at.' R. 1813: so *a tergo* regularly (94. 5) and cp. 17. 4, 48. 3 (*a meridie*) and this same phrase 50. 6, 101. 8. The real force of the prep. is 'from the side of.' So, metaphorically, 48. 3 *uastus ab natura et humano cultu.*

iussissetis] The subj. is due to virtual Or. Obl., as if he had said, 'we deemed no one our enemy.' Or it may be frequentative: see on 58. 3.

11 **intoleranda audacia**] may be abl. of quality or it may be abl. of cause, parallel to *scelere*, in which case for *atque* cp. 11. 8 n.

sese ecferens] (older spelling for *eff.*), 'transported by.'

in imperio] 'under your suzerainty.' *In* is often used to denote the circumstances and position: cp. e.g. Liu. 2. 15. 3 *non in regno* (i.e. under a king) *populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse*, and 31. 11 below. Sometimes it acquires almost causal force, as in 41. 6, 74. 1, 75. 8, 85. 26, Liu. l.c. 21. 4 *in tanta uetustate*, 'seeing how great the antiquity is,' and so we might tr. here, 'seeing that you were our lords.' Cp. also *in inuidia* 25. 5.

patria, domo] S. often omits the connecting particle between two words (asyndeton): other authors do so only in excited narrative (see also on *patres conscripti* of § 1). See Intr. p. xviii, and cp. § 17, 18. 2, 20. 8, 62. 1, 77. 1.

et] 11. 8 n.

effecit] governs *extorrem*, *inopem*, *coopertum*, *ut* being 'with the result that.'

13 **quod**] is the relative, explained by the *uti* clause: cp. 25. 10, 31. 6.

otium] the peace which those wars have secured.

14 **tertium**] a third *brother*: cp. 10. 3 *benificio meo fratres sunt* and 33. 4 *scelera in patrem fratresque*.

alter...alterius] as though he had said 'I have two brothers.'

15 **potissumum**] i.e. what place am I to *select*? See § 9 above.

generis] subj. gen., 'that my house can give.'

concessit] 'yielded, as is due to,' something like our 'pay the debt of.'

alium alia] 12. 2 n.

maerore et luctu] the feeling of grief and its outward expression respectively.

16 **quae**] is first accusative and then nominative. Cp. 31. 18, 35. 3, 101. 5.

necessariis] 'favourable' or 'friendly,' a sense of the word naturally not elsewhere found with things. Here of course persons are meant.

pro] 'by virtue of,' 'in consideration of,' 9. 2 n.

17 **nunc uero**] 'but as it is.' So *nunc* § 24 below [νῦν δέ].

patria] abl. of separation, an unusual constr. with *exul*: the word takes a gen. in poetry, but in prose generally stands alone.

qui] really introduces the answer, 'Why, they....'

maiorum...hostilia monumenta] 'memorials of my ancestors, memorials testifying to their having been foes to the country in which they are found.' The rhetorical exaggeration is perhaps exceptional, even for S.

sint] subj. after *ubi non* as after *nemo est quin*. R. 1680 sqq.

18 **abunde** etc.] The acc. and infin. depends on *instituit*: cp. *monuit* 8. 1 n.

huic] He stands in Rome.

20 **parum cognita**] if they knew how hollow it really was, they would avoid it.

transuorsos] 6. 3 n.

incognita causa] i.e. without hearing Iug. *Indicta causa* is common, but *cognoscere* is regularly used of judicial investigation, and *cognitio* implies hearing both sides.

fingere me] The acc. and inf. depends on a verb of saying evolved from *niti* etc. 8. 1 n.

uerba] 'mere words,' 'idle tales,' as opposed to *res*. Cp. the common *uerba dare* 'to deceive.'

cui] of course refers to *me*, and will be tr. 'though I could have.' Notice the Latin for 'I could have done this': the past tense is given by the finite verb: *mihi licuit hoc facere*, not *licet fecisse*.

21 **quod**] the adversative conjunction, 'but,' as in *quod si* etc.

simulantem] in bitter irony, 'pretending as much as I am,' i.e. 'really suffering.'

ne] 'assuredly' (the *e* being long). Cp. 85. 20.

reddat] is really apodosis to the protasis *utinam uideam*.

22 **unde**] as often = *a quo*.

laetandum...casum] implies the possibility of saying *laetor casum*, which is indeed Latin, but not to be imitated: the abl. or a preposition usually follows.

23 **rerum humanarum spectaculum**] 'an object lesson of (the mutability of) men's fortunes.' Cp. 38. 9, and esp. 104. 2.

cuius] refers to Adherbal and is subj. gen., as *uitae necisque* are obj. gen., with *potestas*. 'My power to spare life or inflict death,' i.e. my power as a king.

alienis] that is, of Rome.

24 Tr. 'Would that death were an honourable way of escape for such a position as mine, and that people would not think I deserved all the insults I have received if I thus submitted to my wrongs.' The only difficulty is that *iniuriae concedere* would more naturally be used of swallowing one's pride and living on. [Hence some adopt the reading of certain MSS. *uiuere* for *iure* and take *neu* to introduce an alternative, 'or else, would that I could go on living, resigning all hope of revenge.' But *neu* in S. always introduces not an alternative, but a clause explaining or expanding what has preceded. And the clause before does need explanation, for there was nothing dishonourable in suicide to the mind of the ancients.]

nunc] § 17 n.

25 **per uos**] a verb of appealing must be supplied: cp. 10. 3 *per hanc dextram moneo obtestorque te*.

familiae nostrae] a rather loose gen., 'which rage in': cp. *Romae Numidiaeque facinora* 33. 4.

CHAPTER XV.

1 **inferentem**] ought, according to the usage of the best writers, to mean 'at the time when he was beginning the war,' whereas S. means 'though he had been the one to begin,' i.e. *cum intulisset*. For equally free uses of the pres. ptc. see 35. 10, 103. 4, 106. 1, 113. 1. Do not imitate, but follow Bradley's Arnold, 410—412.

ac] of course goes with *alium*, 'different from what they had found him,' cp. 72. 1 *aliter atque*, 79. 6 *haud secus atque*. So after *iuxta* 45. 2, *pariter* 46. 6 etc. where we tr. 'as.'

2 **consulitur**] that is, the presiding magistrate calls upon the members in turn to state their views (*dicere sententiam*): so 28. 2 *senatus a Bestia* (the consul) *consultus*.

deprauata] nominative. Men who had not actually been approached by Iug.'s agents let themselves be led by the influence of others who had. Cp. 13. 8.

contemnere] '*express* contempt': cp. 64. 2 *mirari*.

3 **subueniundum**] As the verb governs a dative, the gerund was a necessity (Bradley's Arnold, 391): observe afterwards *mortem uindicandam*.

4 **factiosus**] 8. 1 n.

5 **ueritus**] This participle, like *ratus*, *ausus*, *usus* etc., is used in much the same sense as the Engl. present participle. Cp. 20. 1, 35. 9 etc.

solet] S. regularly omits *fieri* in these cases: cp. 25. 3, 59. 3; in 96. 3 *facere* has to be supplied.

polluta licentia] Something is wrong with the text here. One misses a defining gen. to *licentia*, if it refers to recklessness in taking bribes, and *polluta* can hardly mean 'dishonourable' or 'shameless.' [Novak's *soluta* is not bad.]

CHAPTER XVI.

2 **homo**] *uir* would be a definite expression of his approval on S.'s part.

quia consul etc.] C. Gracchus, whose democratic measures in 123, 122 had greatly incensed the nobles, tried to oppose by violence the repeal of one of his laws. A riot ensued, and on the following day the consul Opimius attacked him and his friends who had entrenched themselves on the Aventine. The rioters were easily dispersed and Gracchus and his henchman Flaccus perished—the former by suicide. His party was hunted down by prosecutions: 3000 are said to have been executed. Cp. 31. 7, and ch. 42.

3 **fama, fide**] must be abl. after the comparative implied in *anteferre*. Generally however the abl. is used with such verbs only to denote the point *wherein* excellence is shewn. Some edd. prefer to read *famae, fide*: *fide* will then be dative (R. 360 *b*). [Silius, who has several reminiscences of S., has *praecello* with a similar abl. (9. 478), but there the *prae* makes the abl. easier.]

4 **aggressus...capit**] note the military metaphor, and cp. 61. 4, 85. 6.

5 **illam**] 13. 1 n.

possedit] from *possido*, as in 18. 11 and 12, 48. 3: cp. 11. 3 (*adsedit*).

CHAPTER XVII.

1 **res**] my subject: 42. 5, 79. 10, 95. 2.

postulare...exponere] *Postulo* is here constructed with the inf. on the analogy of such words as *hortor* and *moneo*, which are sometimes so constructed by S.: cp. 19. 2, 24. 4. He even has the inf. after *impero* (e.g. 47. 2). Cp. 14. 1 (after *enitor*), 37. 2 (after *nitor*), 39. 5 (after *ardeo*), 52. 5 (after *remitto*), 64. 2 (after *caueo*).

2 **asperitatem**] 'difficulty of access': cp. 75. 2 and 10; in 89. 4 and esp. 92. 4 *danger* is implied.

item] variation for *aut*.

compertum] 'based on certain information.'

absoluam] *narrabo*, a sense of the word peculiar to S. The idea is that of discharging a necessary task.

3 **pauci**] among them the most learned Roman of the day, M. Terentius Varro. *Posuere* passes into the meaning 'laid it down that' and so takes acc. and inf.

sed] 'and': 5. 5 n.

4 **ab**] 'on': 14. 10 n.

nostri] Mediterranean.

Oceani] Atlantic.

decliuem latitudinem] 'broad descent (or slope).' A comparison with 19. 3 shews that Egypt is here reckoned part of Asia.

5 **frugum fertilis** etc.] notice the strained aiming after variety of expression. *Frugum* is gen. with an adj. denoting fulness (or it may

depend on the verbal idea of the adj.: cp. 7. 1 n.), *arbore* must be abl. of respect. For the collective sing. cp. *glande aut lapidibus* 57. 4.

caelo terraque] little rainfall and few lakes, rivers etc.

6 **salubri**]=*sano.*

laborum] 7. 1 n.

nam] explains why they live to old age; *ad hoc* refers to *bestiis interiere*, but the connection is very lax: one would expect it to introduce a fresh reason for their living long.

7 **plerosque optinet**] *Fama tenet*, *optinet* are common phrases, but for the verb to govern an acc., as here, is exceptional. We must tr. 'prevails among.'

Hiempsalis] not the Hiempsal of ch. 12, but a second one of the name, who joined the Marian party against Sulla. He was father of the Iuba who fought for Pompey.

interpretatum] passive, as occasionally in other writers. S. uses several verbs that are regularly deponents either in the active form or with passive meaning: cp. *enisum* 25. 2, *ulcisci* 31. 8, *ludificare* 36. 2 (and the past part. with passive force 50. 4), *partiuerant* (43. 1), *conspicatur* (49. 4), *frustrari* 58. 3. It is all part of his archaising tendency, but cp. 101. 9 n. Conversely, in 45. 1 we have *conperior.*

nobis...dicam] for the curious alternation of 'editorial' *we* and *I*, cp. 95. 2.

penes auctores] Seneca (N. Q. 4. 3) says it is the way of historians 'after telling as many falsehoods as they choose, to refuse to vouch for some one particular and say *penes auctores fides erit.*' *Fides* is 'the guarantee.'

Chapter XVIII.

1 **humi**] goes with *pabulum*, being practically an adj.: cp. *domi poenas* 79. 7 and see on 28. 1.

uti pecoribus] is in apposition to *quis.*

2 **moribus**] 'institutions': cp. Cat. 6. 3 'the state grew *ciuibus, moribus, agris.*'

quas nox coegerat] sc. *eos habere*: they made that spot their resting place which the fall of night compelled *them to accept.*

3 **Afri**] Whereas the Greek legend makes him return victorious with the oxen of Geryones and fixes the end of his mortal life on Mt. Oeta in Greece. Cp. 89. 4 *Hercules Libys.*

quisque] must be abl. pl.; the plural denotes that the headship is that of *tribes*, not individuals: cp. § 12 below, *utrique.* The contracted

form for *quibusque* occurs nowhere else, at least in classical Latin [but it seems incredible that we ought therefore to take it here as nom. sing.: the abl. is required by the usage of the language].

4 **et**] 11. 8 n.

5 **intra Oceanum**] i.e. south-west of the straits.

mutandi] 'getting by barter,' as in § 9: cp. 44. 5 n.

6 **ignara**] passively (=*ignota*). Cp. 52. 4.

7 **ei**] =*Persae.*

alia, deinde alia] With the first *alia* supply *primum*: 'first one, then another,' 'one after the other.' Cp. 36. 2, 55. 8 (*aliis, post aliis*), and 59. 3 *sequi, dein cedere.*

Nomadas] *nomos* is Gk. for pasture, *nomas* one who moves about for pasture, a migratory shepherd.

8 **ceterum**] i.e. in spite of the change of name, traces of their arrival by sea remain.

carinae] 'hulls.'

9 **adcessere**] 'reinforced.' **nam** explains why these tribes fell in with Libyans, not Gaetulians.

mare Africum] part of the Mediterranean must be meant.

agitabant] This verb is common in S., with the meaning 'live, be, keep.' Of course the full phrase is *aetatem agitare.* Cp. e.g. 19. 5, 54. 2, 59. 1, 74. 1 and the use of *agere* 55. 2 n. Tacitus borrows both usages.

oppida habuere] therein differing from the Persae of §§ 5, 6.

freto] '*only* the strait.'

inter se] is careless, as if he had said at the beginning *ipsi et Hispani.* The point is not that the tribes had commerce with each other, but that they had it with Spain.

11 **res**] 'state.'

nomine Numidae] 'taking the name of Numidians' (lit. of course 'N. by name').

Carthagine] with *proxuma* just as they said *prope abesse a loco* for 'to be near to.' But the only parallels are 19. 4 below and one of S.'s fragments where *propincus* takes the same case. [As a matter of fact, our MSS. have the acc. in both passages, and S. does construct *proxumus, proxume* with the acc. But Arusianus (4th century grammarian) cites these two passages and the fragment (for which he is the sole authority) as exx. of the abl. construction.]

appellatur] sing. by attraction to the predicate *Numidia*, as in the familiar *amantium irae amoris redintegratio est.* R. 1435.

12 **utrique alteris**] the plural of these words regularly means 'each party,' or 'each set of cases.' Cp. 13. 9, 22. 5, 42. 4, 53. 7, 60. 1 etc. One might have expected *alteri* for *utrique* (as in the last three exx. cited). The parties are the parent stock of § 7 and the emigrants of § 11.

inferior] lower lying, the part towards the Mediterranean: cp. *super* 19. 5.

pleraque] S. affects the sing. of this word (54. 9, 79. 2, 85. 21): do not imitate.

concessere] 'passed into,' 'were merged in.'

Chapter XIX.

1 **sollicitata...auidis**] refers only to the *pars* and shews how they set to work. *Sollicitata* must be taken with both *plebe* and *auidis*.

Hipponem...Leptim] Each of these names was borne by two cities: here where he appears to be naming cities in the immediate vicinity of Carthage, *Hippo Zarytus* and the so-called *Leptis minor* are probably meant.

originibus] 'mother cities.'

2 **nam**] 'I do not mention Carthage, for....' *Nam* often gives the reason for a thought which is not expressed: cp. 82. 2, 88. 5, 102. 11.

parum] 'inadequately.'

3 **ad**] seems to mean 'starting at.'

secundo mari] lit. 'with the sea following,' i.e. keeping the sea by you, keeping along the coast.

Theraeon] = Θηραίων, a Gk. gen. pl.: cp. *Philaenon* just below. *Thera* was one of the Cyclades.

ac deinceps] One would hardly gather from S.'s description that the order is (1) Greater Syrtis, (2) Philaenon arae, (3) Leptis, (4) Lesser Syrtis. His love of brevity is to blame: when he came to (1) he thought he would at once explain that there were two Syrtes and that Leptis came between them.

Leptis] sc. *magna*, as distinct from Leptis of § 1.

Philaenon] see ch. 79.

4 **Hispania**] 18. 11 n.

5 **super**] 'inland of:' cp. *inferior* 18. 12. So *post* just below.

7 **igitur**] as often, is resumptive: 'to come back to the war.' Cp. 42. 4, 49. 1, 64. 1, 86. 4, 96. 1.

nouissume] 'finally': i.e. 'at the end of their empire': see on 13. 4.

magistratus] Each Roman province was put under the government of a praetor (or propraetor as he would be called if, as often happened, he came out to the province after the expiration of his regular year of office in the city). For the praetor of this province see 104. 1.

cetera] an adverbial acc. also found in Livy, but not in Caesar or Cicero. It should not be imitated: R. 1102.

Chapter XX.

1 **contra timorem**, 'contrary to what he had feared would be the case': *contra ac timuerat* would be more usual. But cp. 75. 9, and the common *contra spem*, also *c. decus regium* (33. 1, 72. 2), *c. belli faciem* (46. 5).

acceperat] 8. 1.

3 **loca**] S. often omits *ad* with *adcedo*: he is not to be followed in this peculiarity.

4 **conuortit**] intrans. as in 101. 6, and cp. 85. 9 (*uortit*). Here again it would be rash to imitate: use the passive (practically deponent) or insert *se*.

5 **neque...et**] 1. 5.

omnia] i.e. everything *else*, 'anything': cp. 24. 2, 26. 2, 58. 1 etc.

temptatum] with *bellum*, referring to the events of 13. 3, 4.

secus] otherwise, that is, than was wished: cp. 25. 10. *Cedo* in this phrase of course means 'result,' 'turn out': so *procedo* l.c.

Chapter XXI.

1 **intellegit...esset**] The imperfect may be due to the fact that *intellegit* is practically historic present, or *intellegit* may actually be the perfect: see 40. 1 n.

2 **interim**] seems to mean 'for the present,' as opposed to the next step, detailed in the following sentence. But this meaning of the word is rare and practically confined to later Latin.

Cirtam] the modern Constantine. For its position see on 23. 1.

diei extremum] S. often uses the neuter adj. as a noun, with a partitive gen. in dependence; the same word in 37. 4, 90. 1; *humi arido atque harenoso* 48. 3; *plerumque* just below and 109. 4, *pleraque* 78. 4; *propinqua* 89. 5; *proxuma* 78. 2; *summum montis* 93. 2. The use is a favourite with the poets. See Intr. p. xvii and R. 1290 sqq.

etiam tum] 'still': dawn had not really broken.

togatorum] The word *togati* was used in ref. to the Italian troops which served along with the Romans, and was consequently applied by

the provincials to all Italians settled amongst them: cp. 26 passim and 47. 1. The *negotiatores* of 26. 3 are the same.

3 **uineis turribusque**] The former were sheds with open sides which were placed behind the engines of war to protect the men working them: cp. 92. 9 and many passages in this book. They were often set on fire or knocked over by the enemy: cp. 94. 4. The *turres* were moveable towers, often on wheels, which could be driven up to the walls: besides the advantage which their height gave to the bowmen stationed upon them they enabled storming parties to pass by means of gangways directly on to the ramparts of the city. Cp. an interesting passage in Caesar (B. G. 2. 30) where the Gauls scoff when they see a *turris* being reared aloft in the distance: they ask *quibusnam manibus aut quibus uiribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae tanti oneris turrim in muro sese collocare confiderent*. But when they saw it advancing towards the walls, they sent some of their number to treat for peace. Along with *uineae* and *turres* are often mentioned *aggeres*. These were mounds of earth thrown up near the city walls, upon which *catapultae* and the like were placed so as to command the interior of the city: see 37. 4, 76. 3 (where *turres* are placed on one), etc.

expugnare] 9. 3 n.

legatorum] is very brief for 'the arrival of the *legati*.'

4 **adulescentes**] This was rather contemptuous treatment: in important cases these *legati* were men who had at least held the praetorship: contrast 25. 4 and 16. 2.

uerbis] 'in the name of': so 25. 11, 102. 2.

uelle et censere] The subject is *senatum populumque R.*

ita...esse] At this point the meaning of *censere* passes from 'think best' to 'think.'

seque illisque] 10. 2 n.

Chapter XXII.

1 **maturantes ueniunt**] Note the (somewhat rare) use of a pres. participle where we should use an adverbial phrase. Adjectives are often so used (e.g. *tacitus, inuitus*): for the present use cp. 44. 5, 52. 5, 53. 1.

clemens] favourable to Iug.: it put the best possible construction on his behaviour.

2 **ita**] only prepares the way for *ut* and may be omitted in translation.

4 **pro bono**] = *bene*. Such phrases, where a substantival adj. governed by *pro* is equivalent to the corresponding adverb, are occasionally found: cp. Liu. 6. 40. 17 *Sextium haud pro dubio consulem esse*.

iure gentium] that which all nations recognise as just. The *ius gentium* is often referred to in connexion with the inviolability of ambassadors: cp. 35. 7.

prohibuerit] though all the other subordinate clauses of this speech are secondary. Such a change is common in Livy, and may be due to love of variety, but even Caesar has examples.

5 **utrique**] 18. 12 n.

Chapter XXIII.

1 **loci naturam**] It stands on a height surrounded by the Ampsagas flowing in a deep ravine and is only accessible from the S.W., where a narrow *col* joins it to the adjacent hills.

armis] by storm (which he had tried, 21. 3).

turris] are fixed towers, similar to the modern 'block-house.'

temptare] The object (*eam*, the city) must be supplied, as in 29. 1.

prorsus] 'in short,' often used by S. in summing up, as the equivalent of *denique*: cp. 30. 3, 66. 1, 76. 4.

2 **confirmat**] 'makes bold enough,' 'encourages,' 'prevails upon': an uncommon meaning of the word, but cp. Liu. 2. 24. 2 *alius alium confirmare ne nomina darent*.

proxumum mare] 'nearest *part of* the sea': cp. *summus mons* etc. and 61. 2 note.

Chapter XXIV.

3 **benificia**] conferred on Iug.

4 **scribere**] 17. 1 n. He means, either that his circumstances are too desperate for him to waste time in mere reviling, or else that the mere fact that he is in this plight will prevent their believing anything he says of Iug.

antea] referring to the events of ch. 14 sqq.

5 **nisi** etc.] There is here some laxity of construction: perhaps the use is colloquial. Practically, *nisi* = *sed*, but the speaker means: 'I won't say more, *except this: that* I see etc.' for which correct Latin requires *nisi* (*hoc*:) *me intellegere*. The same construction in 67. 3, 100. 5.

quam] as if *supra* were a comparative. It regularly follows *ultra*.

grauius] 'of more importance.'

6 **nam]** The explanation really comes with the next sentence, as if he had said, 'for, though before you may say he was only attacking *us*, he is now turning on *you*.' Cp. 28. 5 n.

fuerint] logical jussive, 'let us grant they were.' So 31. 8.

nihil ad uos] exactly like our, 'that is nothing to you,' does not concern you. Curiously enough it is also good Latin for 'nothing to you' in the colloquial sense of *to = compared to.*

7 **uostrum]** he seems to reckon it as Roman since the division of 16. 5.

legatorum] of 21. 4.

quanti] locative of price or value: cp. 32. 5, R. 1186.

8 **possit]** consecutive subj., *quo* being = *ut eo.*

9 **nam** etc.] explains why he has just said '*you* must help **me**': *he* can do nothing.

forent] is directly dependent on *uellem*: 14. 3 n.

fidem...faceret] 'corroborate.' The subj. is a final one, *potius quam* having the idea of preventing a result: hence they often write *potius quam ut*. Cp. 106. 3 and R. 1676, 1678.

10 **eo]** simply points forward to *ut.*

amicitiae fidem] 10. 3 n.

Chapter XXV.

1 **consuleretur]** it should be discussed what was to be done to him. Observe that S. varies the construction: he might have continued with *consulendum.*

2 **eisdem illis]** of 15. 2. For **enisum** see 17. 7 n.

3 **solet]** sc. *fieri*, 15. 5 n.

4 **maiores natu]** see on 21. 4.

supra] 15. 4. He was consul in 115.

senatus princeps] The censors when they revised the senate-list chose from among the patrician members one whose name should stand at its head and who at the meetings was always called on first to give his *sententia* (15. 2 n.). At one time only those who had been censors were eligible, but this rule cannot have existed at the time S. refers to (if his facts are right), for Scaurus was not censor until 109.

5 **in inuidia]** with the people. For *in*, cp. 14. 11 n.

Uticam] the capital of the *prouincia* and the seat of its governor.

prouinciam] 13. 4 n.

adcedat...missos] Or. Obl. depending on the sense of *litteras mittunt*: cp. 88. 5 etc. (where it follows *nuntios mittere*). The subj. is the regular jussive which represents the imperative of Or. Rect.

6 **metu atque lubidine]** with *agitabatur.*

diuorsus] divided between them: cp. 46. 4.

7 **paruisset]** subj. of virtual Or. Obl.: for the tense cp. 8. 1 n. Here of course there is no actual acc. and inf.: the apodosis is implied in the object of the verb of fearing: cp. 75. 2, R. 1750.

porro] 'and then again.'

9 **casum]** = *occasionem* (so 56. 4): do not imitate.

10 **intenderat]** *Intendo* is a favourite with S. in the sense of '*aim*,' 'purpose.' He constructs it with an object (noun or infinitive), or a word like *quo* denoting direction: cp. 64. 1, 74. 1, 92. 6, 102. 1, 104. 1, 107. 7. For another sense of it, see 75. 8.

ut...potiretur] explains *quod.*

11 **senati]** cp. 40. 1, R. 399. It is hardly an archaism, as Quintilian in the next century says SENATI *an* SENATUS *faciat incertum est* [unless we have in these words of Quintilian an early trace of the archaising movement represented by e.g. Gellius].

consumpta] regularly used of spending to no purpose: cp. e.g. 93. 1.

frustra] for 'without having accomplished anything' (*re infecta*), is a good example of S.'s love of brevity. It was their *coming*, not their *going*, to which the adv. strictly applied.

Chapter XXVI.

1 **Italici]** 21. 2.

deditione facta] is equivalent to *si deditio facta esset*, and belongs to the acc. and inf. clause.

seque et] *Que...et* is avoided by Caesar and Cicero, but cp. 55. 1, 89. 7, 91. 2, 104. 1. See on 10. 2.

de ceteris etc.] *Suadent* here passes into the meaning 'assure' and so takes the construction of a verb of saying: 8. 1 n.

3 **armatus]** if right, implies that the inhabitants, when they saw the town was being treated like one taken by storm, in spite of the *deditio*, took up arms. There is however fair authority for *armatis.*

Chapter XXVII.

1 **ministri]** contemptuously, of the Romans who had taken his bribes: cp. 25. 2 and 3.

gratia] 'personal influence.'

leniebant] 'tried to....'

2 **Memmius]** It is curious to find him attacking the nobles here, for

in 100 A.D. he stood for the consulship in their interest and paid for his temerity with his life. A band of ruffians, hired by the revolutionary party, with which Marius had allied himself, suddenly fell upon him and beat him to death.

tribunus plebis] The tribunate, originally established to protect the *plebs* from the patricians, was now one of the most powerful state magistracies, and yet could be held by men long before they were eligible even for the praetorship. It was the recognised post from which to start a revolution and was utilised by both of the Gracchi for that purpose. It was even as tribune that Rienzi came forward nearly fifteen centuries later to protect the people from the nobles.

designatus] Magistrates were generally elected some time before their term of office began: in the interval they were styled *designati*. As such they enjoyed certain privileges otherwise peculiar to magistrates: whether they had, as S. certainly implies, the right of addressing the people is doubtful. [See Mommsen St. R. I. 591[6].]

id agi ut] is simply the passive of *id agere ut*, 'to do one's best to....' Tr. 'the object aimed at was that....'

Iugurthae] dative.

dilapsa] 'evaporated.'

3 **lege Sempronia**] a law passed by C. (Sempronius) Gracchus in 123, enacting that the senate, before the consuls were elected, should fix two provinces for them to govern. After election, the consuls decided (by lot or arrangement) which of the two each should have (cp. 43. 1). *Futuris* then does not mean *designatis*, but 'those who should be elected.'

Italia] In the designation of Italy as a *prouincia* we see a clear trace of the original force of that word—sphere of activity specially assigned to a magistrate by law, decree of the senate, or the like. A 'province,' in the ordinary sense of the word, Italy was not. Sometimes we find it assigned to both consuls, when their presence is not needed elsewhere. Contrast 35. 4, where trouble in Macedonia as well as Numidia called both consuls away.

4 **P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia**] The gentile name of each, Cornelius and Calpurnius, is omitted, awkwardly enough in the latter's case, as he is immediately afterwards referred to by it. [There is however some doubt as to the correctness of the text: see Mommsen R. F. I. 41[68].]

Bestia] distinguished himself after the death of C. Gracchus by effecting the recall of Popilius (see on 31. 7) whose banishment Gracchus had secured.

obuenit] like *euenerat* (35. 4), may refer to lot or arrangement (see above, *lege Sempronia*).

Chapter XXVIII.

1 **contra spem**] is practically an adj. with *nuntio*. S. does not avoid such a usage as carefully as do most good Latin writers. Cp. 33. 4, 86. 3, 109. 4 and note on 112. 3. *Humi* in 18. 1 is similarly used; see note there.

uenum ire] cp. *pessum dari* 1. 1 n. The phrase is subject to *haeserat*, 'the belief that everything could be bought had struck deep root in.' Cp. 6. 3 n.

miserat] 13. 6.

aggrediantur] depends directly on *praecipit*: cp. (after *persuadet*) 35. 2; (after *imperat*) 35. 4, 75. 5; (after *hortatur*) 54. 1 etc.; R. 1606.

2 **moenibus**] the simple abl. with *recipere* seems partly local, partly instrumental. Cp. R. 1174.

eique]=*senatus*: 14. 6 n.

3 **ex**] 'in accordance with,' as often: cp. 62. 5 *ex consili decreto* and 40. 5 n.

nuntiari] 'answer to be made': see on 13. 8.

4 **legat sibi**] 'chooses as his *legati*, or staff officers.'

deliquisset] 8. 1 n.

5 **nam**] seems to explain the hint given by the words *quae deliquisset*. But the sense is obscured by the way in which S. has put his main idea in the relative clause, 'he had good qualities, and yet his avarice ruined them,' for 'though he had...yet his avarice....' For this use of *nam* not going with the clause which immediately follows it, cp. 24. 6 n.

6 **sed**] clearly not 'but': see 5. 5 n.

Siciliam] the prep. seems omitted for symmetry, owing to *Regium*. See however on 79. 2.

transuectae] only applies to the getting them over to Sicily: with *Regium*, *ductae* would naturally be used. This use of a verb governing two nouns, though its sense only suits one of them, is a form of what the grammarians call Zeugma: another ex. in 55. 1.

Chapter XXIX.

1 **temptare**] sc. *Calpurnium*: cp. 23. 1.

aeger] suffering from, weakened by: cp. 32. 4 *uis auaritiae in animos eorum ueluti tabes inuaserat*.

2 **a principio]** 'at the outset.'

plerisque...conruptis] concessive, 'although....'

factione] 8. 1 n.

3 **postea...quam]** of course go together.

4 **fidei causa]** 'to inspire confidence': so 85. 29.

quaestor] The quaestorship was the lowest of the important magistracies. For the military quaestor see Intr. p. xxi, for another kind 104. 3 n.

quod...imperauerat] cp. 62. 5 for the construction.

quoniam...agitabantur] 'because, owing to the delay with regard to the surrender, a truce was observed.' C. had insisted on corn being given him as a condition of granting the truce. **agitabantur**, as in § 7.

5 **igitur]** having got the security he required.

praesenti consilio] as opposed to *cum Bestia et Scauro*. The general's council would comprise his quaestor, the *legati* and (military) tribunes: in some cases certain of the centurions would join it. Cp. the council of 62. 4.

de inuidia...atque uti] Observe the variation. With *uti*, *locutus* becomes practically a verb of asking.

secreta] predicatively, 'as secret business.'

saturam] the name given to a dish filled with various fruits, then to any dish of various ingredients, and finally 'a medley.' Here *per sat.* seems to mean that the question was not put simply, but proposals which they were ready to accept were combined with others of quite the opposite character and the points at issue thus confused. The device is not entirely unknown in modern council chambers.

6 **pro]** as in 8. 2.

paruo] Not that Iug. got off easily, but Bestia and Scaurus were not concerned with what he paid to the *state*. They doubtless charged him more for the private interview of § 5.

7 **rogandos]** the elections for 110 (held some time in 111).

Chapter XXX.

1 **quoque]** *Que* here joins *res gestas* to the dependent question *quo modo actae forent*.

probarent, subuorterent] are of course indirect questions, depending on *constabat*. But the direct question would be subj. also, the subj. of deliberation; *probemus an subuortamus?* they would say. Parse then as a dependent deliberative. For the power of the senate in this matter, see on 39. 3.

3 **cuius...odio potentiae nobilitatis]** an extraordinary string of genitives, of which the first and last are possessives, the second objective depending on *odio*.

supra] 27. 2.

contionibus] meetings called by magistrates. Only magistrates could speak at them, except in so far as they might order a private individual to make some statement (so in 34. 1). Such meetings did not definitely decide anything: often they served the purpose of a modern indignation meeting and were convenient means for working on public opinion. Cp. Marius' *contio* in 84. 5.

prorsus] 23. 1 n.

4 **Memmi facundia]** Cicero (Brut. 136) says M. was quite an ordinary *orator*, but *accusator acer atque acerbus*.

potissumum] 14. 9 n.

reditum] of 29. 7.

Chapter XXXI.

1 **dehortantur...superet]** Notice the difference of moods. *Dehortantur* states a fact as a fact, and is not really connected with the *ni* clause, the real apodosis of which is omitted. Thus tr. 'tend to prevent, (and would prevent) me.' Cp. Cat. 58. 6 *si...animus ferat, egestas prohibet*, 53. 7 below, Verg. Ecl. 9. 45 *numeros memini si uerba tenerem*, R. 1574.

patientia] 'long-suffering,' 'passive spirit.'

ius nullum] '*the fact that* legal rights are abolished': cp. 6. 3 n.

innocentiae] is of course governed by *est*.

2 **nam]** introduces the proof of their *patientia*.

illa] simply points forward.

quindecim] He is speaking in 111 B.C. and refers to a state of things that began with the death of T. Gracchus in 133 B.C.: one would expect 20 or 25 to be the round number. XV. may be a mistake for XX. (which indeed some of the good MSS., but none of the best, read) or XXV.

ut] 'how.'

ab] not 'by' (the simple abl. would mean that), but 'in consequence of.'

3 **obnoxiis inimicis]** causal abl. abs. 'when they are....' *Obnoxius* means 'submissive' or 'at your mercy,' *ob* having the force it has in *obviam*, so that the literal meaning is 'in the way of, liable to harm.'

5 **ob rem]** a rare equivalent for *in rem*, 'to the purpose': *res* has much the same sense as in 17. 1.

6 **quod...fecere]** explained by *uti...eatis*.

secessione] cp. § 17 n.

more] they themselves have given the example, as he goes on to shew.

eant] is governed by *necesse est*, as often: e.g. 85. 27.

7 **Ti Graccho]** elder brother of Gaius (16. 2 n.). As tribune in 133 he carried an agrarian law, but in doing so ventured to depose one of his colleagues, who opposed him. On his trying to be reelected tribune he was charged with aiming at royal power and was killed in a riot.

parare] 'aim at.'

quaestiones] A commission of enquiry, presided over by the consul Popilius, sentenced to death a great number of alleged accomplices of Gracchus.

in carcere necati] 16. 2 n.

8 **fuerit** (and **factum sit** in the next sentence)] 24. 6 n.

plebi sua restituere] 'to give the commons back their own,' is the subject.

ulcisci] 17. 7 n.

nequitur] is found in old Latin, with passive infinitives: cp. the use of *coeptum esse*.

9 **nobilibus]** for their advantage. Cp. what Catiline says (Cat. 20. 7): *illis* (=the nobles) *reges, tetrarchae uectigales esse, populi, nationes stipendia pendere*.

diuina et humana] 5. 2 n.

10 **incedunt]** This verb often gives the idea of pomp and swagger.

per ora] commonly used where we should say 'before your eyes.'

sacerdotia] Membership of the four great collegia (Pontiffs, Augurs, Quindecimuiri, Epulones) came to be greatly prized at Rome. The growth of their power is seen in the fact that the names of those which a man had held began to be included in the epitaph-inscriptions. The Pontifex Maximus had a quasi-magisterial position.

triumphos] the honour granted to a victorious general of passing in procession at the head of his troops, accompanied by the captives and spoils won in the war, up to the Capitol and there sacrificing an ox to Jupiter. It was much coveted—so much so that a law had to be enacted requiring that a battle involving a loss of at least 5000 men must have been fought before a triumph could be claimed.

honori, non praedae] A very strained use of the predicative dat., as if he had written *quasi ea honori essent*. For *praedae* cp. 69. 3, and, for the thought, 4. 8.

11 **uos]** In questions of this kind (which are generally introduced by *an*, but cp. § 17 below) the two clauses are put side by side, without coordination. And so often in contrasted sentences: cp. 46. 4, 63. 6, 83. 1, 85. 12, 114. 2. We must say 'when slaves cannot...can you...?'

in imperio] 'in the enjoyment of': cp. 14. 11 n., and our own expression 'born in the purple.'

12 **et eidem]** 'and at the same time,' 9. 2 n.

honesta atque inhonesta] The stress is of course on *inhonesta*, the whole expression simply meaning 'everything.' It recurs 80. 5: cp. *ius et iniuriae* 14. 16, 33. 2 and Vergil's *facta atque infecta canebat* (of Fame, Aen. 4. 190).

13 **occidisse]** is obj. to *habent*.

14 **quam...pessume...tam maxume]** This use of *tam...quam* with superlatives is archaic for the usual *eo...quo* with comparatives.

metum ab scelere suo etc.] their crime (i.e. criminal selves) ought to be afraid, but as a matter of fact it is your inactivity (i.e. cowardly and passive selves) that is afraid.

quos] refers to the subj. of *transtulere*.

16 **neque...et]** 1. 5.

benificia] is often applied to the conferring of office by the people: cp. 85. 3, 8, 26.

17 **bis...Auentinum]** Roman history makes the plebeians three times retire from the city, resolved to found a separate community of their own unless their grievances were redressed. In the first and most celebrated case, in 494 B.C., they resorted to the Mons Sacer; in the last, in 287 B.C., to the Ianiculum; *in the second only*, in 449, to the Aventine. S., who must include in his *bis* the secessions of 494 and 449, has either made a slip in conducting them both to the Aventine or has sacrificed truth to brevity. In a fragment of the Histories (1. 9) he himself describes the first secession as being to the Mons Sacer.

18 **magis uos fecisse etc.]** i.e. they deserve it, but it is beneath you. Observe that *quod* is first obj. and then subj.: cp. 14. 16 n.

20 **nisi forte etc.]** 3. 4 n.

etiam] qualifies *nondum*.

illa...haec] M. vividly pictures the time of disgrace as gone and so remote, the new era arrived.

diuina et humana] § 9.

nam] introduces the proof that the words just spoken are not too severe. *Quidem* only emphasises *seruitutem*: cp. *fidei quidem* § 23.

22 **quantum...habent]** lit. '(in regard to, according to) how much...they have,' i.e. 'such is...they possess'—a variety for the second ex. given in 7. 4 n.

deinde] with *faciundi*, 'in the future.'

eripitur] 'is wrung from you.'

24 **potestne]** *Ne* is sometimes used, even when the answer *No* is expected and *num* would be regular—particularly after *est*, *potest*.

25 **peculatus]** § 9.

prodita] 'treacherously abandoned,' 'sacrificed.'

res publica] 'the common weal,' 'interests of the state.'

26 **uindicatum]** sc. *erit* from the preceding *erunt*.

regem] When the infinitive stands as a subject, its predicate must be put in the acc. Cp. *immemorem* § 28, *dominum* 85. 35, R. 1357. A hit at the aristocracy: they, not Gracchus, were guilty of aiming at *regnum*: cp. § 7.

28 **neglegas]** The subj. is potential, often found with the indefinite 2nd pers. sing., R. 1544. Here, and in 3. 2 (*possis*), the remarkable thing is its use in a subordinate clause. Cp. R. 1546 and tr. 'if one neglects....'

29 i.e. *benificia* will not be needed if you can get rid of *malificia*.

Chapter XXXII.

1 **interposita]** The verb is regularly used of giving a pledge. *Fides publica* is often used of a free pardon from the state: here it is rather a promise of protection: cp. § 5 below, 35. 7 and *fides* in 81. 1.

pecuniae] gen. of charge: cp. the similar gen. of the thing of which one is convicted, 35. 8, and of the penalty sought, 73. 5 (R. 1324).

accersebat] sc. *Memmius*.

2 **relicti a Bestia]** when he came home, 29. 7.

3 **fuere qui...alii...pars]** a good example of variation. *Vendere* is hist. inf. [All good MSS. have the impossible *uenderent*.]

ex pacatis] cp. 88. 3 and *praedator ex sociis* 44. 1. *Ex* denotes the source: cp. *triumphare ex*, 'to celebrate a triumph over,' and *ex uictis spolia capere* 84. 1.

5 **perlata rogatione]** the 'bill' now became *lex*, 'statute': cp. on 40. 1.

rebus suis] 'his fortunes, prospects': cp. 46. 1, 60. 4, 64. 2, 75. 1, 83. 1.

dedisset] subj. (though *quoniam* regularly governs the ind.) because

it depends on a subjunctive clause (*ne...mallet*): indeed it is practically subordinate to Or. Obl.; cp. 35. 2.

minoris] 24. 7 n.

Chapter XXXIII.

1 **contra decus]** 20. 1 n.

2 **tametsi** etc.] S. appears to mean that, though he had plenty of impudence, he took the advice of his friends and did not rely on his own efforts entirely.

parat] 10. 4 n.

ius et iniurias] 31. 12 n.

foret] final subj., as *cuius=ut eius*.

3 **contione]** 30. 3 n.

aperiret] the subj. is due to the Or. Obl.; for the tense (*=aperiet* of Or. Rect.) cp. on 8. 1.

consulens] 'desirous of satisfying the claims of': cp. 35. 9, and for the sense Cat. 51. 7 *ne plus apud uos ualeat P. Lentuli...scelus quam uostra dignitas, neu magis irae uostrae quam famae consulatis*.

per sese] 'as far as he was concerned,' as often: cp. 64. 3, and especially 102. 9.

4 **Romae Numidiaeque]** are, I should suppose, genitives, on the analogy of such expressions as *Cannarum pugna*: cp. too 14. 25 (*familiae*). Most edd. explain them as locatives, *Numidiae* being used instead of *in Numidia* by a kind of attraction to *Romae*. This is certainly possible: cp. for such assimilation 28. 6 n.

patrem fratresque] by adoption: 14. 14 n.

quibus] Here begins Acc. and Inf., dependent on *uerba facit* or *ostendit* of the previous clauses. The *que* of *quibusque* of course joins *quibus ministris* to what precedes.

Chapter XXXIV.

1 **supra]** 33. 2.

tacere] By Roman constitutional law the magistrate's prohibition, addressed to Iugurtha, takes precedence of his colleague's positive order.

quae ira fieri amat] is a curious expression. Literally it must mean 'which anger likes (to see) happen.' For the personification cp. 41. 3 *quae secundae res amant*. [But S. must surely have had in mind the Greek use of φιλεῖν 'to be accustomed.' If so he has interpreted it strangely, for ἃ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι would lead to *quae fieri amant* in Latin, and we should then have to add *ira* as abl.]

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 **Gulussae**] 5. 6.
regum] Iug. and Adherbal.
dedita Cirta] 26. 2.
2 **persuadet...petat**] 28. 1 n. For the mood of *sit* cp. 32. 5 n.
inuidia] is nom.
metu] the fear which Iug. inspired.
3 **omnia**] is first obj., then subj.: 14. 16 n.
4 **Macedonia**] 27. 3 n.
maxume occulte] 'by preference (if possible) secretly': 14. 3 n.
6 **eo numero qui...erant**] so 38. 6; for the sense construction cp. 14. 6 n.
inconsultius] i.e. they did not take sufficient precautions to escape falling into the hands of the Roman police.
indicium profitetur] the regular equivalent for our 'turn king's evidence.'
7 **ex**] 'in accordance with.'
aequo bonoque] 'equity': for *ius gentium* see on 22. 4 and cp. 91. 7 *ius belli*.
comes] causal or concessive apposition, 'though he was...': see 12. 3 n.
fide publica] 32. 1 n.
8 **sceleris**] 32. 1 n.
animum aduortit] so, not *animaduortere*, in 69. 1, 93. 2.
supra] i.e. beyond the power of *gratia* and *pecunia* to mitigate.
9 **priore actione**] when B. appeared first before the magistrate.
regno] 'his throne.' For **consulens** see on 33. 3.
10 **respiciens**] as *postremo* shews, stands for *cum respexisset*. Cp. 15. 1 n.
urbem] is exclamatory acc.: 14. 9 n.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 **forent**] consecutive subj., *quae* meaning 'of such a kind as to....'
ante comitia] No doubt he had set out late: a fresh campaign had not been anticipated, and so no preparations begun early.
quod tempus] i.e. 'the time for which,' just as they said e.g. *is metus* for 'fear of this': cp. too *is numerus* (35. 6) practically equivalent to 'the number of those,' and *ea gratia* (54. 4), *ea formidine* (54. 6).
2 **alias, deinde alias**] 18. 7 n.

ne sui diffiderent] as they would if he was always retreating.
belli...pacis mora] obj. gen. like *deditionis mora* 29. 4. He would not hastily make peace or fight.
ludificare] for the active form cp. 17. 7 n.
3 **tum**] goes with *haud ignarum*.
ex] 'out of,' and so of change, 'after.' Cp. 10. 2 *Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti*.
magis quam] 'so much as': cp. 1. 5.
4 **pro praetore**] the regular title for the deputy of a provincial governor or commander-in-chief (even of a consular one). So 103. 4.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

2 The description shews all the vagueness we expect from S.—especially in constitutional matters. Mommsen [St. R. 1. 523] believes that a tribune could not legally stand for a second consecutive tribunate unless fewer candidates had presented themselves than there were tribunes to be elected. Whether Lucullus and Annius claimed this privilege and the others objected, or whether the two men simply tried to override the general regulation, must remain undecided. **totius anni** again can only mean up to Dec. 9, for that day was the last of their office.
inpediebat] Tribunes could postpone the holding of all elections —except, probably, those of their own body.
3 **terrore**] is of course abl. of cause, explaining why the king should bribe him.
exercitus] is subjective, 'inspired by his army.'
mense Ianuario] There are several reasons for believing that the defeat took place before Jan., 109: one of these is given in Intr. p. xv. Probably S. simply selected this month, without reflection, to denote the severest period of winter.
hieme aspera] concessively, '*though* it was severe.'
Suthul] is not otherwise known, but was probably near Calama, where Orosius (historian of the fifth century) places the scene of this defeat.
4 **extremo**] the edge of the plateau: cp. 21. 2 n. for the grammar.
quo] should only be used for *ut* where the dependent clause contains a comparative. Here *adderet* implies one, but S. sometimes uses the word where no comparative idea is involved: e.g. 52. 6.
potiundi] depends on *cupidine*.
uineas...aggerem] 21. 3 n.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 **uanitate**] 'folly.'

2 **ita...fore**] depends on a verb of saying, implied in *spe pactionis*: cp. 8. 1 n. For *delicta* cp. 28. 4.

3 **diu**] recurs 44. 5. It is a distinct archaism, adopted from S. by Tacitus.

temptabat] 'sounded.'

centuriones] Intr. p. xxv. **duces turmarum**] Intr. pp. xxiii[4], xxiv.

signo dato] of course belongs to *desererent*: cp. 13. 6 n. for the order.

4 **ex sententia**] 'in accordance with his wishes,' as very often in Latin, cp. 43. 5, 109. 4. The phrase also means 'on one's oath': hence the tale of the Roman who was dissatisfied with his wife, and being asked by the censor '*ex tui animi sententia* (almost 'on your oath and conscience': the phrase occurs below, 85. 27) *tu uxorem habes?*' replied with the jest, '*non hercule ex animi mei sententia* ('to my liking').'

5 **anceps**] the enemy were all round them (*circumvenit* § 4): cp. 67. 2.

6 **numero, quos**] 35. 6 n.

cohors...Ligurum...turmis Thracum] Intr. p. xxix.

gregariis] of the legions presumably. But in 93. 2 a Ligurian is so styled.

transiere] plural after *cohors cum turmis*: a rare constr., repeated in 101. 5 (R. 1437).

centurio primi pili] Intr. p. xxv.

tertiae legionis] Intr. p. xxi[2].

eaque] *eā* is the demonstrative adverb corresponding to *quā*: so 50. 6, 92. 8, *eādem* 93. 5.

8 **remorata**] for neut. pl. referring to two or more feminine subjects cp. 41. 3, 52. 4, 68. 1, 77. 3, 85. 30.

9 **uti**] is not really needed, as *decederet* would be the regular jussive of Or. Obl. for the imperative of Or. Rect.

10 **metu**] is abl. of price: cp. 44. 5, R. 1198.

mutabantur] lit. 'were to be taken in exchange for,' i.e. 'were the alternative for.' *Mutare* 'to barter' (cp. 18. 5 and 9), and so 'to take in exchange': cp. 53. 8 *pro metu gaudium mutatur*, 83. 1 *incerta pro certis mutare.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 **rerum bellicarum**] gen. on the analogy of that which follows adjectives of knowledge or the opposite.

libertati] so a dative is used with e.g. *caueo, consulo, prospicio* in quite a different sense from that which the acc. would give: Bradley's Arnold, 248.

2 **tamen**] tacitly he implied that the treaty must be declared void.

sociis et nomine Latino] Intr. p. xxviii.

auxilia] In lists of this kind *socii* regularly means *Italian* allies, and the term *auxilia* is reserved for the forces of the non-Italian peoples. See however Intr. p. xxix[5].

3 **suo atque populi iniussu** etc.] a well known principle of Roman constitutional law, but one which their generals did not always take the trouble to explain to the foreign nations with whom they concluded what purported to be regular treaties: nor did the state of course resign the advantages which its generals had thus secured for it: the mere surrender of the general and his officers was hardly adequate, and was sometimes (e.g. in this case) dispensed with. Observe that here, as at 30. 1, the decision as to the cancelling of the agreement lies with the senate.

4 **conuenerat**] as we were told in 38. 9.

prouincia] 13. 4 n.

5 **mederi**] for the inf. cp. 17. 1 n.

imperio] 'discipline': cp. 44. 1.

ex] denotes the stand-point. We should say 'with.'

copia rerum] 'the means at his disposal': cp. 54. 9, 90. 1, 98. 3.

CHAPTER XL.

1 **rogationem**] *lex* in 65. 5: cp. 32. 5 n.

promulgat] the technical word for the giving notice by a magistrate that after the expiration of a certain time he will propose a bill, of which he now gives a description.

quaereretur] 'an inquiry be held': cp. on 13. 8.

neglegisset] The MSS. of S. shew traces of his use of *neglegi* as the perfect of *neglego*: the grammarian Diomedes recognises such a perfect as existing.

2 **partium inuidia**] 'party hatred,' the gen. being subjective or objective. For *partes* cp. 41. 1, 73. 4.

quin...faterentur] 'without admitting,' R. 1696.

per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos inpedimenta parabant] A characteristically vague expression. The Latins and other Italians could not take part in the voting. But they could influence it in various ways: many of them would be capitalists and wealthy traders, and others could help to cause riots and break up assemblies. Cp. also on 42. 1. [Latins seem to have had the privilege of voting in the *comitia*, but they all had to vote in a single one of the divisions, so that the power they exercised at them was a negligible quantity (Momms. St. R. 3. 643).]

3 **plebes**] for the order, cp. 13. 6 n.

lubido] 'passion.'

4 **supra**] 25. 4, etc.

fugam] 'panic'; this metaphorical use is rare. So we speak of a party being beaten all along the line.

trepida] The confusion made it possible for such a mistake to be made.

rogarentur] 29. 7.

5 **sed**] connects: 5. 5 n.

ex rumore] i.e. the accused were at the mercy of hearsay evidence and the caprice of the mob (*ex* is 'in conformity with' as in 42. 4, 54. 5, 61. 3: cp. 38. 4 n.). We know from Cicero that Bestia, Sp. Albinus and Opimius (16. 2) were among the condemned.

Chapter XLI.

1 **ceterum**] introduces a digression: so he often uses *sed*.

mos] 'practice': we should say 'evil.'

partium popularium] the democratic party; **factionum, the various** cliques of the aristocratic party (8. 1 n.). [Some edd. omit *popularium*, so that the whole phrase means 'party feeling and the clique system.']

quae] refers to *rerum*, but is attracted to the gender of the predicate *prima*: cp. Cat. 7. 6 *eas diuitias, eam bonam famam putabant*. So 75. 6, 85. 30 below, and see 79. 8 n.

ducunt] 'deem': cp. 76. 6.

2 **Carthaginem deletam**] in 146 B.C.: 13. 4 n.

modeste] 'discreetly,' neither side seeking undue power.

tractabant] The phrase *senatus populusque Romanus* regularly

takes the sing. Here of course where the members are regarded separately the pl. was necessary, but in 111. 1 it is used with no apparent reason.

gloriae] obj. gen., as often after *certamen*: cp. too *contentio honorum*, Cic. Off. 1. 87.

dominationis] 'tyranny,' 'absolute power.'

3 **amant**] cp. 34. 1. The full construction is doubtless *quae fieri res sec. amant*.

4 **asperius**] worse than their former *res aduorsae*.

5 **lubidinem**] 'selfishness'; **uortere**, 'to let it become': so *conuortere* in 70. 5.

6 **in**] 14. 11 n.

7 **belli**] locative, like *militiae*. In 49. 2 it is used exceptionally without *domi*; cp. on 14. 1.

agitabatur] 'the government was administered'; the impersonal use of the word is unusual, but imitated by Tac. Cp. 13. 8 n.

gloriae] 'chances of winning *gloria*': so *irae* 'fits of wrath,' *luctus* 'outbursts of grief.'

8 **confinis**] 'neighbour, bordering on his land.' Horace (O. 2. 18. 23 sqq.) describes the wealthy man as tearing up boundary stones and leaping over the dividing walls of the property of his own dependents. This wronging a man's family whilst he himself was campaigning was an old evil; cp. the order published according to Livy (2. 24. 6) in 495 B.C.: *ne quis militis donec in castris esset bona possideret aut uenderet*.

9 **modo modestiaque**] the former of definite acts, the latter of general character: but see on 1. 3.

pensi] is a partitive gen., *pensum* meaning 'what is weighed,' and then 'something weighty,' i.e. 'important.' Literally then the meaning is 'knew, or recognised, no importance (i.e. consideration), no tie.' Cp. R. 1301.

10 **ex nobilitate reperti**] the Gracchi.

permixtio terrae] 'convulsion of the earth,' 'earthquake': cp. the use of *permiscere* 'throw into confusion' 5. 2 n. The constitution tottered to its foundations.

Chapter XLII.

1 **Gracchus**] Usually *Gracchi* would be written. For the men see 31. 7 and 16. 2 respectively.

2 **partium inuidia]** 'party hatred,' the gen. being subjective or objective. For *partes* cp. 41. 1, 73. 4.

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Chapter XLII.

1 **Gracchus]** Usually *Gracchi* would be written. For the men see 31. 7 and 16. 2 respectively.

maiores] their father Tiberius in Spain and Sardinia, whilst through their mother Cornelia they were grandsons of the elder Scipio.

eo] 'on that account.'

socios ac nomen Lat.] 40. 2; **equites Romanos**: the members of the *ordo equestris*, second only to the senatorial body: Intr. p. xxiii[3]. As the senators were forbidden to engage in trade, etc., the *equites*, as the next wealthiest class, undertook the work: they corresponded to our merchants and capitalists.

The *history* is, as so often in S., very inaccurate. The Latins did undoubtedly feel aggrieved at Tiberius' agrarian proposals, which in some way or other evidently injured them. Their protests were supported by the younger Scipio, who was thereupon assassinated by some member of the Gracchan party. (Of this S. discreetly says nothing.) But with regard to the *equites*, the truth is that Gaius gave them a number of privileges (e.g. the lucrative seats on the juries), and thus made them devoted adherents of his policy: it is absurd to talk of the senate's having estranged them from the plebs at this time.

societatis] 'share in their privileges.'

tribunum] of course refers to Tiberius. Gaius had been tribune in the successive years 123, 122, but at the time of his death he was only a member of the board of three appointed to superintend the founding of certain colonies, notably that of Iunonia on the site of Carthage.

coloniis deducundis] a dat. of work contemplated: R. 1156.

3 **bono**] is masculine: 'a good man would rather put up with defeat than resist wrong by a means that is likely to be a bad precedent': even if the Gracchi went too far, the nobles, had they been *boni*, would not have resisted unconstitutionally. [I cannot help thinking that *bono* might be neuter: 'to be carried away by a good tendency, as the G. were, is better than to punish a breach of the law in the dangerous way adopted by the nobles.']

4 **extinxit**] really suits even *fuga*: exile was civil death, and *caput* is used for 'civil rights' as well as 'life.'

in relicum] = the commoner *in posterum*.

pessum dedit] 1. 4.

dum...uolunt] 'in their desire': 4. 9 n.

alteri] for the pl. denoting 'each party' see on 18. 12.

5 **studiis**] almost 'strife.'

pro] 9. 2 n.

res] as in 17. 1.

Chapter XLIII.

1 **foedus...foedam**] seems an intentional play on words, characteristic of the colloquial tendency in S. After it, one may almost suspect *stipendiis făciundis non Graeca făcundia* in 63. 3.

designati] 27. 2. For the bearing of these words on *mense Ianuario* of 37. 3 see Intr. p. xv.

partiuerant] For the active form see 17. 7 n. For the thing, cp. 27. 3.

quamquam] without a verb is rare in good Latin: here, as *acri* is no doubt meant to give praise, the insertion of *quamquam* was essential.

aequabili] 'unblemished.' Cicero (Balb. 11) says that in a certain law-suit the jury refused to inspect his account books rather than appear to doubt his bare word. Few Romans ever received such a tribute.

2 **alia omnia...ratus**] i.e. in other matters he recognised that he shared his powers with a colleague: the war he regarded as his own special task.

3 **arma**] by the side of *tela* (as in 51. 1, 66. 1) must mean defensive armour.

et cetera] 1. 3 n.

4 **socii nomenque L.**] Intr. p. xxviii[1].

ultro] 8. 2 n.

Chapter XLIV.

1 **proconsule**] Owing to the number of magistracies not having increased in proportion to the growth of public business a magistrate was often given a second year of office, to be devoted to duties outside Rome (usually as a general or as a governor). And again, even without this formality, a general (or governor) continued to hold office until the arrival of his successor. In such cases he was not allowed to keep his old title: consul or praetor became proconsul or propraetor: i.e. they were not real magistrates, but equivalent to (*pro*) magistrates.

ex] 32. 3.

modestia] 7. 4 n.

3 **et**] only balances the clause with the next one: it = 'both' and may be omitted in tr., or rendered by 'in the first place.'

aestiuorum tempus] 'time available for a campaign.' The delay is of course that of 37. 2.

laborare] 'endure toil': cp. § 1 *neque laboris patiens.*

4 **decreuerat**] For the tense cp. on 11. 2.

odos] 'sanitary considerations.' [But none of our good MSS. have this archaic form, which is read on the strength of the MSS. of Fronto (writer of the 2nd century A.D.) who quotes most of this chapter. How little our MSS. can be trusted in such matters appears from the fact that Servius tells us S. almost always wrote *labos*: yet in only two of the four places in the extant works where the word occurs is this spelling supported by any good MS.]

5 ***muniebantur***] The importance of spadework was fully recognised by the Romans. Their armies never halted for the night without forming the regular entrenchment to which they gave the name *castra*. As Mommsen has observed, it gave them power to combine the offensive and the defensive: they fought under the ramparts of their camp as under the walls of some fortress. The excellence of the arrangement was greatly admired by their Greek contemporaries (Polybius and Philip of Macedon, for instance). The phrase recurs 45. 2, 75. 7, 82. 1, 100. 4.

deducebantur] to their posts.

diu] 38. 3 n.

pecoris et mancipiorum] gen. of material or definition.

mutare] 'barter' (as in 18. 5 etc.), *uino* being abl. of price.

frumentum...uendere, panem...mercari] the corn was not ground or baked. And they did not care about the trouble of baking their own bread. Cp. *coctum cibum* in 45. 2.

in dies] 'to meet each day's requirements,' for which *in diem* is more usual, *in dies* being generally used to mean 'every day' in sentences containing a comparative or the like: Bradley's Arnold, 328 (c). Cp. however 74. 1.

amplius] 'besides': cp. *felices ter et amplius* etc.

Chapter XLV.

1 **conperior**] The deponent form recurs in 108. 3; it is an archaism, used also by Tacitus (in A. 4. 20, where he clearly has this passage in mind).

ambitionem] *Ambitio* and its derivatives are often used of officers who strive to be popular with their troops: cp. 64. 5, 96. 3, 100. 5. Here it really means 'indulgence,' allowing them license in the hope of winning their favour.

moderatum] 'he steered.'

2 **namque** etc.] observe that the acc. and inf. continues.

quisquam] is more emphatic than the more usual *quis*, after *ne*: cp. *ne quispiam* below.

ceteris] is neuter: other doubtful practices he did not entirely do away with (*sustulisse*), but strictly limited them.

arte] is of course the adverb.

transuorsis] lit. 'cross,' i.e. across country.

ac] 15. 1 n.

munire] governs *castra*: see on 44. 5.

cum signis frequentes] 'in a body along with their standards,' each in his proper *maniple* or company, close to its *signum* (Intr. p. xxv³). [In Liu. 3. 24 *frequentem ad signa sine ullo commeatu* the meaning seems rather 'regular.']

Chapter XLVI.

1 **ubi...accepit, simul...factus**] Note the variation.

2 **suppliciis**] branches of laurel or olive, in token that they came to sue for peace.

3 **Metello**] the dative as often with *cognitus* and kindred expressions: cp. 75. 2 *Metello comperta*. It is really a dat. of advantage or possession, as is shewn by the parallel phrase *compertum habere* and such a passage as 70. 2 *ex quo illi gloria opesque inuentae.*

ingenio mobili] for change to abl. see on 1. 1.

4 **alium ab alio**] 12. 2 n.

diuorsos] 'apart,' lit. 'separated': cp. Cat. 20. 5 *iam antea diuorsi audistis* where it corresponds to the *singuli* and is opposed to the *uniuorsi* of the beginning of the chapter.

postquam...cognouit] as my punctuation shews, belongs to *multa pollicendo*: we must insert a connecting particle before it.

maxume] 14. 3.

procedat...traderent] The main vb. being in the historic present, either tense is justifiable in itself: the employment of *both* is unusual and must be due to love of change. Cp. Cat. 32. 2 *mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes confirment.*

quae ex uoluntate forent] i.e. what would please him. *Ex* as in 38. 4. For the sense, cp. 47. 4, 48. 1 which shews that these messages were friendly in tone.

5 **infesto**] i.e. acting in a hostile way, 'with all the terrors of war,' as it were.

contra...faciem] cp. 20. 1 n. *Facies* here really = *solita facies.*

conmeatum] 'provisions of all kinds.'

6 **munito**] protected on all four sides, as § 7 shews.

ostentui] sc. *esse* (so 61. 1, 69. 1).

insidiis] dative: cp. 70. 3 and R. 1156.

[**temptari**: the good MSS. concur in *temptare*, which is just possible. S. may have personified *signa*: cp. such phrases as *quae res secundae amant* 41. 3. And the expression in 53. 8 is far stranger.]

7 **C. Marius**] of whom more in ch. 63. For the cavalry here distinguished from the *equites auxiliarii* see Intr. p. xxiv.

curabat] 'commanded': so 57. 2, 60. 1 and 5, 100. 2.

auxiliarios equites] Intr. p. xxix[5].

legionum, cohortium] The legions and (allied or auxiliary) cohorts (Intr. p. xxix) form the main body, which is protected (§ 6) by light and mounted troops on all sides. For the tribunes and prefects see Intr. pp. xxii, xxviii.

cum eis permixti uelites etc.] If Livy is right, it was for this purpose that the *uelites* were first instituted: see 26. 4. 4 sqq. where he ends up with *institutum ut uelites in legionibus essent: auctorem peditum equiti immiscendorum centurionem Q. Nauium ferunt.* Intr. p. xxiv.

equitatus] is nom., 'bodies of cavalry.'

8 **gerens**] with *pacem*, just as they said *amicitiam gerere.* But of course its use here is due to considerations of brevity.

Chapter XLVII.

1 **celebratum**] 'frequented.'

2 **si**] is occasionally used after verbs of trying: cp. Liu. 1. 57. 2 *temptata res est si...capi Ardea posset.*

opportunitatis] depends on *gratia.* [But only one MS. reads it: the others have *opportunitates*, and *all* have the *et* after *gratia*; its position after *paterentur* is due to Wirz, and without this change the *si* clause is clumsy and indeed meaningless.]

conportare] For the inf. see on 17. 1.

quod res monebat] 'his position required': more clearly 56. 1 *quod negotium poscebat.*

et] as in 44. 3 n.

rebus] is explained as dative after *munimento fore*, *iam* going closely with *paratis*, 'the provisions etc., supplies, he had got already,' as opposed to what he hoped to get. As Italians they would naturally be ready to help.

3 **modo**] only emphasizes *inpensius*: cp. its use with imperatives in colloquial Latin (*i modo*, 'just you go').

4 **dimittebat...expectare**] In 30. 3 the historic inf. comes first.

promissa] i.e. their fulfilment, as in Vergil's *sua nunc promissa reposci* (Aen. 12. 2).

Chapter XLVIII.

1 **alienata**] 'passed into hostile hands,' not 'become a foe,' as 66. 2 shews.

3 **possederat**] 16. 5.

a meridie] For the prep. cp. 14. 10 n.

tractu pari] sc. as the river; 'in the same direction,' 'parallel to it.'

ab] 'on the side of,' 'so far as...was concerned': an extension of the use just noted.

sed] is clearly only connective, 5. 5 n.

quasi] which here means *fere* (see 50. 3), belongs to *medio.*

inmensum] which is practically a noun here, is used to denote simply great extent: cp. 92. 5.

pertingens] 'extending'—towards the river, at right angles to the line of both river and mountain: cp. 49. 1 n.

humi] partitive gen., depending on the (virtual) nouns *arido atque harenoso*: cp. 21. 2 n. The abl. is not local (S. would put *in*), but half instrumental, half that of accompanying circumstances: the meaning is the ground allows them to grow.

4 **media**] 'which lies between,' bounded on three sides by the river, the *collis*, and the *mons.*

cultoribus] may be abl. on the analogy of that which follows adjectives of fulness. But for *pecore* it would doubtless have been preceded by *a.*

Chapter XLIX.

1 **igitur**] resumptive, *not* 'therefore': 19. 7 n.

transuorso itinere] is a puzzling phrase. Apparently it means simply 'cross-wise,' i.e. across the *tractus* of 48. 3, at right angles to the boundary lines which the river and the *mons* set to the *planities.* It lay *parallel* to M.'s route from the *mons* to the river (and on his right: see § 6).

docuimus] he certainly mentioned it in the previous chapter, but said nothing of its direction.

extenuata] 'extending his formation.'

ageret] dependent jussive: cp. 57. 2 *imperat ubi quisque curaret.*

suos conlocat] is strange, as *suos* means the before mentioned *omnis equit. et pedites.* Is the whole sentence a contracted form of 'marches with them to a position nearer the mountain, and there stations his line'? Anyhow *aciem instruit* or *consedit* would be more obvious.

2 **turmas, manipulos**] Roman names for cavalry and infantry divisions of Numidian troops: see on 12. 3. It is however possible that Iug. did use the Roman system: see Intr. p. xxx[6].

cum eis certamen fore] here *obtestatur* becomes a verb of saying, and takes its construction: cp. 8. 2 n.

omnia] is explained by (1) *locum*, (2) the substantival clauses introduced by *ut* and *ne*.

belli] locative: 41. 7 n.

3 **inuadere**] is governed by *parati intentique essent: paratus* regularly takes an inf.

confirmaturum] 'be the consummation of.'

4 **alium alio modo**] 'each in a different way,' 12. 2 n.

conspicatur] must be passive, though the verb is almost always deponent: see on 17. 7. [Here again our MSS. read the easier *conspicitur*, but grammarians of the 4th and 6th century expressly tell us that S. wrote *conspicatur* here.] For the indicative see on 12. 5.

5 **equi**] named first, as most difficult to conceal.

neque...et] 1. 5 n.

humilitate] abl. of cause, shewing why they were imperfectly covered.

incerti] of persons with this passive force, is rare, but Livy has the usage. Tr. 'so disposed that it could not be known,' or, freely, 'making it hard to tell.'

atque signa] is boldly added instead of *cum signis.* Cp. 101. 4 *Sulla...ipse aliique Mauros inuadunt.* See also 66. 2 n.

6 **ordinibus**] cp. 101. 2 *nullo ordine commutato*, which suggests that *ordo* has its not uncommon meaning of 'company' (maniple or century: Intr. p. xxv[3]). Tr. generally 'changing formation.'

in dextero latere] with *aciem instruxit*: where the right flank of the marching column had been was now a battle line, facing the enemy.

triplicibus subsidiis] implies a main line and three others. *Triplex acies* was a common form of array, and it is hard to see why it was here departed from.

inter manipulos] i.e. in the intervals which the Roman battle order left between each fighting unit.

pauca...milites hortatus] for the double acc. cp. 79. 1 and R. 1122.

transuorsis principiis] M., to continue his march, would simply give the order 'Left turn! Quick march!' This would bring his men facing the river again: what had been the left wing of the fighting order of § 6 above would be in front, what had been the centre would come next, and the right wing would come last (hence 50. 2). As they marched along, the extreme right hand file of the column would be composed of those who, if the enemy attacked (when the word 'Right turn' would be given and the column become a battle array: cp. Tac. A. 2. 16 *ordo agminis in aciem insisteret*) would form the first fighting line, or *principia* (cp. 50. 2). But at present the *principia* presented to their foes not their front, but their (right) sides. The phrase *transuorsis principiis*, then, I believe refers to this and means, lit. 'with (what was to be) his front rank sideways (to the foe)': the use of *transuorsus* in § 1 and in 50. 1 seems quite the same. [The commentators, so far as I have seen, have not fairly grappled with this phrase. There still remains the difficulty that, so far as I understand the passage, *all* the lines, the *subsidia* as well as the *principia*, would be marching in this same way, presenting their flank to the foe. Why then are the *principia* alone mentioned?]

CHAPTER L.

1 **Rutilium**] Intr. p. xiv. He is famous for having, when on the staff of the governor of *Asia*, repressed the extortions of the tax-farmers: they revenged themselves by accusing him, on his return, of plundering the provincials and actually secured his conviction. He selected for his place of exile the town of Smyrna, the alleged scene of his misdeeds.

transuorsis proeliis] 'attacks on his flank.'

2 **pro**] 9. 2 n.

post principia] seems to mean between the *principia* and the first line of *subsidia*, ready to command in the right place, if an attack came. In the *march* he would be rather 'beside' than 'behind' the *principia.*

principes facti] see on 49 § 6 (last note).

3 **ubi extremum** etc.] so that Iug.'s men overlapped what would become the Roman right.

duum] as in 91. 3, 106. 5.

qua] Remember the gender of *mons*, and tr. 'at the point where.'

foret] the subject is *mons*.

4 **adesse**] 'ride up.'

ludificati] 'bewildered': 36. 2.

modo] =*soli* (cp. 75. 7, 76. 5, 78. 4): only they, not the enemy.

5 This section explains *neque...feriundi aut conserundi manum copia erat*.

alius alio] 12. 2 n.

diuorsi] 'scattering,' 12. 5 n.

6 **numero priores**] refers to the Numidians, and is causal.

eā] 38. 6 n.

uero] often added by S. to demonstratives, marking the apodosis: cp. 58. 3.

CHAPTER LI.

1 **foeda atque miserabilis**] S. is fond of an enumeration consisting of two unconnected pairs, of which one alone (here *foeda, miserabilis*) has its members connected. Just below we have three of these pairs, of which the last alone contains a connecting particle (*hostes atque ciues*). Cp. also 11. 8 n.

arma, tela] 43. 3 n.

2 **erat**] the ind. as in 12. 5.

3 **legionarias**] is added because *cohors* unqualified regularly means an auxiliary cohort, though even in this sense *cohors* often takes *auxiliaria*, or the gen. *sociorum* (58. 5).

4 **illis**]=*uobis* of Or. Rect.: cp. 62. 1.

5 **ne Iugurtha quidem**] even though he was at present victorious. Or the *ne...quidem* may mean 'not...either,' as often in good writers.

hostibus...retinere] he dealt with the enemy in two ways. The second way is 'to hamper them by attacking them with missiles.'

CHAPTER LII.

3 **die**] partitive gen.: so 106. 2 *diei uesper*. For the form, cp. 97. 3 and R. 357 (c).

aduorso colle] 'straight up the hill.'

euadunt] 'break through.'

4 **ignara**] 18. 6.

tutata] for the neut. pl. cp. 38. 8 n.

5 **supra**] 49. 1, where the *ipse propior* etc. shews that B. was nearer the river than Iug. was.

atque] This is not a case of what is referred to on 11. 8: really the enumeration consists of only two members, *fundere atque fugare* forming a single phrase.

4 **a tergo**] i.e. from the camp which of course lay behind the storming party.

ad se uorsum] 19. 3 is the only passage in S. where *uorsus, -um* do not take *in* or *ad*: cp. 69. 1.

esse] The subject ('the fugitives') is easily supplied from *fugam*.

5 **cohortibus sociorum**] Intr. p. xxix.

CHAPTER LIX.

1 **aduentus**] 'means of approach,' so that the words are equivalent to 'where he must approach': cp. 101. 11 *qua uisus erat*.

agitare] 18. 9 n. (but 55. 4 *praesidium agitabant*).

proxuma] sc. to the gates.

2 **ex occulto**] no doubt means that he came up stealthily: he did not wish the storming party to notice what was going on.

3 **cladem**] 'havoc' in the Roman ranks.

facerent] After *quiuissent* one would expect *fecissent*, but the impf. perhaps denotes continuance.

illi] the cavalry. For *solet* (*fieri*) see on 15. 5, for the omission of *primum* before *sequi*, on 18. 7.

peditibus] is an instrumental abl.

hostis] 'their enemy' (*not* 'the enemy'), the Romans.

uictos dare] =*uincere, dare* having the force of *reddere*. Cp. Liu. 8. 6 *stratas legiones Latinorum dabo*.

CHAPTER LX.

1 **eo**] '*against* that part of the wall.'

obpugnare aut parare] cp. *festinare, parare* 76. 4.

alteri alteros] 18. 12 n. For the thought cp. Liu. 2. 6. 9 *neuter, dum hostem uolneraret, sui protegendi corporis memor*.

3 **equestre**] of ch. 59.

4 The description seems suggested by the famous one by Thucydides (7. 71) of the battle in the harbour of Syracuse: cp. esp. Thuc. § 3: 'Those who chanced to see their side getting the best of it would be elated...but those who gazed on a part that was being routed cried out and lamented... § 4. Others, their attention riveted on some evenly

balanced phase of the battle were in a terrible state of mind, and in their nervousness actually swayed their bodies in accord with the expectation of the moment.'

uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant] lit. 'according as each (momentary) phase of Iug.'s fortunes presented itself.' Tr. 'as his fortunes kept varying,' and for *res* cp. 32. 5 n.

animaduorteres] 10. 4 n.

sicuti] is sometimes used by S. as the equivalent of *quasi*.

niti] of excited straining of the body.

uitabundi] cp. 101. 9. As S. once makes the word take an acc., as though it were a ptc., it may very well govern *tela* here.

6 **studio**] 'interest in.'

egressi] 'climbing': 93. 2.

summa] the pl. is rare except in poetry: the sing. in 93. 2.

7 **unae atque alterae**] 'one after another,' as in 93. 2. For *unae* in the pl. cp. R. vol. 1, p. 443, and note that *alterae* is not changed to *binae*.

adflicti] 'dashed to the ground.'

Chapter LXI.

1 **inceptum**] is a noun, and *esse* has to be supplied (46. 6 n.).

suo] as in 54. 8.

ab] even with the name of a town, as the *neighbourhood* of Zama is meant. M. had not got inside the town. Cp. R. 1259.

se] refers to the subject of the main clause, though here its own clause is not in the subjunctive: so 66. 1, 88. 4, 103. 2. See R. 2267.

loco] 'position,' as in 76. 2. Elsewhere (e.g. 57. 1) *natura* gives the same meaning.

2 **ceterum**] from *ceterus*, which S. uses in the sing. (e.g. 89. 6, 92. 5): cp. his use of *plerusque*.

prouinciam] =Africa (13. 4 n.). For the construction of *conlocare* with *in* and the acc. see on 14. 1. Note also that *prouincia q. p. e.* stands for *partem prouinciae q. p. e.*, for which compare 89. 7 *omni Africa quae*, 78. 5 *frequentem Numidiam*, and Cicero's use (Mil. 7) of *ea oratio* for *ea pars orationis*. See also 23. 2 n.

3 **ex**] 40. 5 n.

procedebat] 20. 5 n.

tendere] like nets: a common metaphor in Latin.

4 **Bomilcarem**] for this man see ch. 35.

5 **tradidisset**] =*tradideris* of Or. Rect. (8. 1 n.). The acc. and inf. of course depends on *fide data*.

ingenio infido] abl. of quality; see on 1. 1.

per condiciones] 'by the terms.' We should rather say 'lest one of the terms should require his surrender.'

Chapter LXII.

1 **liberisque**] cp. 75. 1.

captos occisos] unconnected: 14. 11 n.

illo] 51. 4 n.

sibi consulant] 'take measures for their own safety.

3 **tradere**] of course=*tradit* of Or. Rect.: 'he hereby, through ourselves, hands to you.'

4 **consilium**] 29. 5 n. The summoning of all available senators to such a meeting is not very often mentioned: it is done however, not only by the aristocrat Metellus, but also by the democratic Marius (104. 1). Pompey's counter-senate at Thessalonica would stand on a similar footing.

5 **more maiorum**] refers to *consili decreto*: there were none of the private interviews that occurred when Bestia was in command (29. 5).

pondo] is a curious example of the way in which the real force of a word becomes forgotten (cp. *sestertium*). From such expressions as *coronam auream, libram pondo, decreuit* ('a pound *in weight*') they came to write *quinque pondo* for *quinque libras pondo*. The practical effect is that *pondo* becomes the equivalent of 'pounds.' R. 1210.

aliquantum] 'a considerable quantity,' a common meaning of the word: cp. 74. 3, 79. 4.

7 **in Mauretaniam**] We should say *in* not *into*, but the other is the regular Latin idiom. So they write *Roma ab auonculo* 'from his uncle *at* Rome': see Bradley's Arnold 315.

8 **igitur**] the repeated demands alarmed him.

ad imperandum] 'for orders.' This phrase forms an exception to the general usage, which requires that the subject of the gerund (here Metellus) should be, either strictly or logically, the subject of the sentence. Roby, vol. 2, pref. lxvi.

digna] absolutely, 'his deserts': cp. 79. 1 *non indignum uidetur memorare*.

9 **cum...duceret...reputaret**] turn by participles, 'thinking...reflecting.'

casus] a rare metaphorical use like our own 'fall,' 'downfall.'

praesidiis] 'means of defence'—the elephants, horses, arms, money and men of §§ 5, 6.

10 **de prouinciis consultus**] according to the Sempronian law (27. 3 n.). For *consultus* see on 15. 2.

Metello decreuerat] This is not strictly accurate. What they were required to do by the law was to fix what provinces should belong to the forthcoming consuls. In this case they abstained from naming Numidia as one of those provinces, thereby prolonging M.'s term of office, as a general or governor kept his power until his successor was named. Cp. 73. 7 n.

Chapter LXIII.

1 **ageret**] jussive subj. = imperative of Or. Rect. The object is to be derived from *quae agitabat*: see on 56. 2. Most writers would have put *agitaret*, but S. affects the ind.: Intr. p. xvii.

2 **abunde erant**] so elsewhere in S., and the younger Pliny. S. is fond of using adverbs with *esse*: see on 85. 7 and 87. 4 and cp. the frequent *frustra esse* (e.g. 7. 6, 71. 5, 73. 7).

domi] in dealing with his fellow citizens.

modicus] 'unambitious': cp. 85. 1.

3 **sed**] introduces the digression as to M.'s history: cp. Cat. 18. 1, 50. 3. The idea may be, '*but* I forgot to tell you': cp. however what is said on 5. 5.

Arpini] is curiously placed: of course it goes with both participles.

stipendiis faciundis] He began at the siege of Numantia (7. 2 n.).

Graeca facundia] Cp. 85. 32 where he says himself *neque litteras Graecas didici* and Mommsen, R. H. 3 p. 444: 'declamatory exercises (in Latin) on the current themes of the Greek schools became a permanent ingredient in the education of Roman youth, and contributed their part to educate the very boys as forensic and political players and stifle in the bud all earnest and true eloquence.'

munditiis] 'elegance.' He was no 'gilded popinjay,' to use the diction of a later century.

4 **tribunatum militarem a populo**] Intr. p. xxii.

facile] i.e. when his exploits were mentioned. [But this is not very clear writing, and *factis* or *fama*, the conjectures of Palmerius and Scheindler respectively, would greatly improve matters.]

per omnis tribus] all the electoral divisions voted for him. There were 35 of these *tribus*, into which the whole area of Italy was divided.

5 **ab**] 'starting from.' He held the tribunate of the plebs and the praetorship, governing Further Spain as propraetor.

potestatibus] as in 85. 9.

ampliore] sc. *potestate*.

quam] stands for *quam ea erat quam*.

6 **id locorum**] of time as in 72. 2 and often in Livy: cp. *post ea loci* 102. 1.

nam] explains the use of the phrase *ad id locorum* to qualify *talis*.

ambitione praeceps datus est] After becoming the tool of the unprincipled Saturninus and Glaucia in 100 B.C., his ambition plunged the state into civil war. For when, in 88 B.C., he got the command against Mithridates transferred to himself from Sulla, the latter marched with an army upon Rome and Marius fled into Africa. On his return thence, after Sulla's departure for the east, he joined Cinna in the siege of Rome and upon its reduction took a bloody vengeance upon his opponents, but died soon afterwards in 86 B.C.

adpetere] seems used quite wantonly for the regular *petere* (64. 1). Wirz says it means 'take steps to secure,' not 'come forward as candidate,' but this is very doubtful.

alios magistratus plebs] we should say '*whilst* the plebs conferred the other offices': see on 31. 11.

inter se per manus] 'from hand to hand to each other.'

7 **nouos**] 4. 7 n.

egregiis factis] abl. of quality, parallel to *clarus*: see on 1. 1.

Chapter LXIV.

1 **igitur**] resumes, after §§ 3—7 of the last chapter: cp. 19. 7 n.

intendere] 25. 10 n.

quo...hortabatur] the same pregnant use (*ire* or *ut iret* is omitted) in 75. 7 *quo praeceperat*.

atque alia] 11. 8 n.

superabant] 'were present in abundance,' as in 70. 2 it means 'present in excess'—both common uses of the word.

2 **mirari**] '*express* surprise': 15. 2 n.

praua] either generally 'out of place,' or specially of ambition: Tac. A. 3. 56 *praua spes*.

res] 'fortunes,' as in 33. 2.

caueret] with the infinitive is very rare in prose: Cicero however uses it once in a letter. See on 17. 1.

3 **potuisset**] =*potuero* of Or. Rect.

per] 'without hindrance from,' as in *per me licet*: see on 33. 3. Tr. 'as soon as the claims of......allowed.'

4 **satis mature**] 'it would be soon enough.'

contubernio] Intr. p. xxii.

uiginti] M. would have to wait 23 years longer!

5 **quod modo...foret**] limiting subj. (R. 1692), 'provided it was....' For *ambitiosum* see on 45. 1.

criminose...et magnifice] i.e. blaming his chief and praising himself, as the next two sentences explain.

trahi] *bellum* is easily supplied from *bello* above.

inanis] denotes a vain, pompous, frivolous character: it is much the same as *uanus* (cp. 38. 1).

regiae superbiae] 1. 1 n.

6 **illis**] the traders.

firmiora] 'more likely to be based on fact.'

animo] dative of person etc. judging: R. 1148.

Chapter LXV.

1 **Mastanabalis filius**] as Iugurtha was himself: 5. 7.

secundum heredem] If the *heres primus* could not or would not take up the inheritance it would fall to the person whom the will would name as *heres secundus*. Here Gauda had been named in case Micipsa's sons and Iugurtha died without heirs.

mente...inminuta] is parallel to *confectus*: 1. 1 n.

2 **petenti**] takes first an *ut* clause, and then the acc. *turmam*: cp. on 104. 2.

more regum] goes with *poneret*: see on 13. 6. *Poneret* stands for *ponere liceret*, 'might be allowed to set....'

equitum Romanorum] Intr. p. xxiii.

eorum] goes with *foret*, 'belonged to those.'

foret] The subjunctive shews that S. is quoting M.'s reason, the clause being in virtual Or. Obl.

populus Romanus reges appellauisset] 14. 2 n.

eos] those who might be selected for the purpose.

3 **anxium**] 'in his chagrin': cp. 82. 3 *anxie laturum*. Sometimes it denotes jealousy, as perhaps in 82 l.c.

in imperatorem] depends on *poenas petat*.

secunda] The word is really an old participle of *sequor* and means 'following.' So here M.'s words followed the bent of G.'s mind: we may tr. 'suitable (to his frame of mind)': cp. Liu. 2. 38. 1 *secunda irae uerba*.

occisus foret...missus foret] 8. 1 n.

4 **milites et negotiatores**] in apposition to *equites Romanos*, of whom they represent two classes. For the traders, see on 42. 1, for the soldiers Intr. p. xxiii.

alios...plerosque] also in apposition to *equites Romanos*: M.'s words influenced some of them, hope (cp. 64. 6) many others.

5 **honestissuma**] bringing him honour, almost 'flattering': they urged his claims (*suffragatio* means here 'canvassing,' 'recommendation') in the most eulogistic terms.

legem Mamiliam] see ch. 40.

extollebat] 'was raising to office.' Cp. Horace's *tollere honoribus* and 49. 4 *uti quemque...pecunia aut honore extulerat*.

Chapter LXVI.

1 **omissa**] 'abandoning,' as narrated in 62. 9.

ab se] 61. 1 n.

adfectare] 'try to win over.'

suos] 54. 8 n.

spe pacis amiserat] 62. 5, 6.

prorsus] 23. 1 n.

2 **quo**] of course refers to *Vaga*, contained in *Vagenses*—a sense construction common in both Greek and Latin. For the adverb of motion towards with *inponere* cp. *huc...inposuit* 47. 2, *eo inponit* 75. 4.

initio] 47. 2.

suppliciis] 55. 2 n.

neque...alienati] parenthetically, 'and indeed they had not been....'

principes ciuitatis] is boldly added, to correct *Vagenses*. The constr. in 49. 5 is somewhat similar.

nam] of course introduces the clause which explains this correction.

Numidarum] we must say 'that o. the N.' The Romans rarely use *ille* or *is* thus: cp. Bradley's Arnold 345.

ingenio mobili] is parallel to *sed. atque disc.*: see on 1. 1.

constituunt] absolutely, 'make an appointment for....'

ostentabat] 'promised,' the Romans of course.

3 **centuriones tribunosque**] Intr. pp. xxv, xxii.

praefectum] the commandant posted there by Metellus: cp. 77. 1 and 4.

alius alium] 12. 2 n.

quippe] was not essential, but helps to shew the causal force of *in tali die ac sine imperio*.

4 **pars edocti**] For plural vb. cp. 73. 3 *plebes acceperant*.

ipse] 'mere,' 'in itself.'

CHAPTER LXVII.

1 **potissumum**] 14. 9 n.

arce...fuga] The ablatives depend on *prohibebant*, the direct object of which is of course *milites* of the previous sentence. [All good MSS. read *arcem* and all but two *fugam*. Jordan's conjecture seems convincing.]

pro tectis] *Pro* means 'on the front of': R. 2071. For the situation compare the fate of Pyrrhus, who was slain at Argos by a tile hurled by a woman from a housetop.

2 **anceps**] 'twofold'—from the troops below and the *genus infirmissumum* above.

3 **saeuissumis Numidis et oppido...clauso**] a concessive abl. abs.

pactione] with the conspirators.

nisi] 24. 5 n.

intestabilis] a legal word, denoting one who through misconduct had lost the claim to be admitted as a witness in a court of law. It had evidently come to be used as an equivalent for *turpis*, 'infamous.'

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1 **permixta**] for the neut. pl. see on 38. 8. At first he was absorbed by chagrin, then indignation began to be mingled therewith.

2 **expeditos**] applies to *legionem* as well as *equites*.

3 **abnuentis omnia**] strictly speaking it was the order to advance that they refused to obey, but the phrase may well be used as a forcible one to express their utterly mutinous frame of mind. One might say similarly 'I will not do a thing more.' Others take *omnia* with *docet*.

mille] is the acc. of duration, *amplius* not affecting the construction: see on 58. 3.

dum...caperent] 'provided they could take,' a final subjunctive.

benigne ostentat] 'makes liberal promises of.'

4 **in primo**] seems a rare phrase, though Cicero often has *a primo* of time ('from the beginning'). *In medio* is common enough: cp. *in postremo* 46. 7.

late] 'in scouting order.'

CHAPTER LXIX.

1 **animum aduortere**] 35. 8 n.

uorsum] 58. 4 n.

Numidas equites] is predicate, 'that they were N. cavalry.'

rursum] not 'again,' for they had not thought so before, but 'on the contrary.'

2 **uolgum**] masc. as in 73. 5.

3 **poenae**] is rare as a predicative dative, but was necessary from motives of symmetry (because of *praedae*).

4 **nam**] i.e. he had not the right of appeal: see Intr. p. xxviii[3].

ciuis e Latio] The regular expression for a Latin in the Roman laws etc. is the elliptic *nominis Latini* (e.g. *ne quis ciuis Romanus neue nominis Latini*): even *ciuis Latinus* is very rare. There is no parallel for the phrase S. uses.

CHAPTER LXX.

1 **cuius inpulsu**] 62. 1.

suspiciens] Elsewhere the verb *suspicio* bears the meaning 'suspect' only in its past participle, but S., with his love of innovation, ventures to use it with that meaning here, where the past participle has just preceded.

ad perniciem] as if he had written *dolum idoneum*.

2 **temptando**] is practically equivalent to a pres. participle or a *cum* clause. The abl. is that of attendant circumstance or manner: cp. 103. 2, R. 1385.

superauerant] 'had been too much for': cp. 64. 1 n.

illi] 46. 3 n.

3 **posceret**] is subj., as the clause depends on acc. and inf.

4 **inter hiberna**] He kept it *on the move* between the various points at which Roman forces were wintering.

inultis hostibus] 'without the enemy suffering for it.'

5 **soci**] subjective gen., 'which he felt.'

nouom] sc. *consilium*.

[iu]rauisset] the subjunctive is that of virtual Or. Obl.: it implies that B.'s actual words are quoted (*per quos iurauisti*).

Metelli] 'which M. offered,' subjective gen.

conuorteret] '*allow to* become,' like *uortere* in 41. 5.

suane] corresponds to *nostra* of Or. Rect.

id modo agitari] 'the only question was.'

Chapter LXXI.

1 **exercito corpore**] 'after bodily exertion.'

2 **solet**] sc. *capere*.

3 **nouissumi**] this latest plan of his, the conspiracy.

5 **quae...parauisset**] the giving information.

praeuenta] 'anticipated.'

super] in the sense of 'concerning' 'in reference to' (cp. our 'on this subject') is found only in some of Cicero's letters, Livy and later prose, and in poetry (e.g. *multa super Priamo rogitans* Verg. Aen. 1. 750).

Chapter LXXII.

1 **aliter atque**] For *atque* 'than' see on 15. 1.

animo gerebat] 'really felt.' The absolute use of *gero* is unusual; *gerere odium*, *amicitiam* etc. are common enough.

obpresserat] S. sometimes uses the plpf. where most writers would be content with the perfect—generally where he has in the previous sentence or sentences more or less anticipated matters. Here he seems to think that he has wandered from the point, which is, not what Iug. did to N., but how he felt the discovery of the conspiracy.

2 **neque mortali**] except indeed Bocchus, who ultimately betrayed him.

contra decus] 20. 1 n.: in places and under circumstances unworthy of a king.

tumultum facere] 'raise an alarm.'

Chapter LXXIII.

1 **integrum**] i.e. to begin it all over again.

2 **parum idoneum**] is predicate: 'a man who had no heart in his work and was his own personal enemy was not much good.'

3 **uolenti animo**] 'readily,' an unusual phrase. Note the plural verb after *plebes*: cp. 66. 4.

4 **illi alteri**] 13. 1 n.

moderata] 'were the guiding influences.' Note *sua* referring to Metellus and Marius, who are certainly not the *grammatical* subj. to the sentence: see on 9. 2.

5 **capitis**] 32. 1 n.

in maius] lit. 'with a tendency to exaggeration.'

6 **res fidesque**] 'property (means) and credit.' For **in manibus** cp. Cat. 37. 7 *in agris manuum mercede inopiam tolerauerat.*

7 **post multas tempestates**] for the first time since 130 B.C.

populus...rogatus etc.] except in the declining period of the Republic the popular assemblies avoided thus interfering in a personal question of this kind. Cp. however Liu. 30. 27, where in 202 B.C. the tribunes put this very question to the people (*quem uellent in Africa bellum gerere*) —at the suggestion, it is true, of the senate.

sed paulo *ante* etc.] S. means that the senate had not named Numidia as one of the provinces for the forthcoming consuls: see on 62. 10. It appears then that the people could actually cancel the arrangements which the senate made under the lex Sempronia. But of course the Roman constitution was crumbling to pieces, and by 88 B.C. it was possible for them to shift the command from the magistrate named by the senate to a private individual (see on 63. 6). [The good MSS. omit the words in italics—except that a few read *senatus*. The text is given only by interpolated MSS., which probably got it from ch. 62. However something of the kind must have stood here.]

Chapter LXXIV.

1 **eodem tempore**] Yet the events just mentioned took place at the end of 108, and those he is about to describe belong to the beginning of the campaign of that year. Cp. Intr. p. xiv.

in] 'considering,' 'in view of,' almost causal. See on 14. 11.

res] 'measure.'

in dies] 'from day to day,' 44. 5 n.

intenderat] 25. 10 n.

3 **aliquanto**] 62. 5 n.

numero, hostium] *potiti* here governs first the abl., then the gen.—a good ex. of S.'s love for variety. Cp. Cat. 33. 1 *plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus.*

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numero, hostium] *potiti* here governs first the abl., then the gen.—a good ex. of S.'s love for variety. Cp. Cat. 33. 1 *plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus.*

tuta] is attracted to the gender of *arma*: cp. Ou. Tr. *I*. 2. I *quid enim nisi uota supersunt.* As regards the meaning of the sentence, S. says with grim humour that their feet are safer than their weapons—the latter they throw away and leave to fall into the enemy's hands. S. has already ventured on something very near to a pun (43. I n.): cp. too 107. I *ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere.* The alternative explanation, that *tuta* is used actively, 'protecting,' gives that word a meaning which it nowhere else bears. [The old reading *Numidas...tutata* is easy enough, but only a few good MSS. appear to present either of the words, and only one presents both, in this form.]

CHAPTER LXXV.

1 **modo**] 47. 3 n.

in oppidum] the prep. is required where *oppidum* is used in apposition: cp. 102. I and R. IIII.

multus pueritiae cultus] a curious expression, seems to mean that there was a large establishment there for the training of the young princes. *Pueritiae* defines the nature of the *cultus*: 'establishment for the early training of....'

2 **Metello**] 46. 3 n.

proxumum] to Thala, of course, so that after reaching it he would have to march over 50 miles of desert.

si...potitus foret] practically in Or. Obl., as *spe patrandi=cum speraret se patraturum esse*: see on 25. 7.

4 **eo**] though referring to *pecoris*, is the adverb: see on 66. 2.

cuiusque modi] 'of various descriptions,' especially of various materials, as *lignea* shews.

5 **portaret**] directly dep. on *imperat*: 28. I n.

fuerint] must be perf. subj. of virtual Or. Obl. and represents the future perfect of Or. Rect. M. says *ibi...fueritis.* In old Latin the fut. perf. is often equivalent to the future: here there is the further idea of 'you will have got there by the time we arrive.' [But Kritz's *forent* is simpler.]

6 **quam**] refers to *flumen*, but is attracted by *aquam*: 41. I n.

7 **quo...praeceperat**] 64. I n.

ea modo] quite apart from what had been carried from the river. For *modo=sola* see on 50. 4.

8 **spe amplior**] 'more than he had expected.'

in] 'where submission has just been made': cp. 14. II n.

officia intenderant] 'increased their zeal in doing services,' 'performed their services with greater diligence,' doing more than was absolutely required. *Intendo* here means 'strain up to a pitch.'

9 **religione**] almost 'piety,' 'respect for the gods,' whose gift they dared not reject.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1 **infectum**] 'impossible': the dat. then is *not* one of agency.

uno die] governed by *amplius*, would otherwise have been put in the acc. (of duration) and of course might be retained in it even as it is: see on 58. 3.

ceterum] 'but the fact was,' a favourite use of the word in Tacitus.

nam...capi] still depends on *putabat*.

3 **ex copia**] 'at his disposal.' [Two of the best MSS. read *dein duobus locis* and as most of the others read *deinde iubet locis*, which may well be a corruption of it, perhaps *duobus* ought to be read. But the special mention of *two* points as being selected is a little curious, and does not seem to suit *ex copia* very well.]

uineas...aggerem] 21. 3 n.

4 **prorsus**] 23. I n.

nihil relicum fieri] *Reliqui* (partitive gen.) is generally written in this phrase, which means 'nothing was left untried.'

5 **post**] is of course a preposition here, yet it is followed by *quam*: cp. 102. 2 *post diem quintum quam.* This is quite as good Latin as the other rendering *quadraginta post diebus quam*: see Bradley's Arnold, 323, whence it will be seen that *quadragesimo die quam* (without *post*) could also be written.

modo] qualifies *oppido*.

6 **ducuntur**] 41. I.

quas...poenas metuerant, eas ipsi uolentes pependere] the same thought in Martial (2. 80): *Hostem cum fugeret se Fannius ipse peremit: Hic, rogo, non furor est—ne moriare, mori.*

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1 **Lepti**] the town of 19. 3.

Hamilcarem...studere] for the acc. and inf. see on 8. 2.

nobilem factiosum] asyndeton as in 14. II n.

festinaret] *=festinabis* of Or. Rect.: 8. I n. So **illorum**=*uestri*.

2 **inde**] is really redundant, being explained by *a principio*. It need not be rendered, though its use thus, with *iam*, is very idiomatic.

3 **Metelloque**] For *que* with the last noun only see on 11. 8.

naue] a rare form for (*g*)*nauiter*.

4 **emissae**] from the *prouincia* of Africa.

cohortes Ligurum] Intr. p. xxix.

Chapter LXXVIII.

1 **quos accepimus...uenisse**] Note that the Latin acc. and inf. depending on a verb in a relative clause must be rendered by the aid of parenthesis in Engl. 'Who, as we learn, came....' For *accepimus* see Intr. p. xiv[1].

ceterum] leaving aside conjecture, however.

re] 'facts of the case' (as described in § 3) and so 'their nature.' Lucr. 6. 424 *presteras* (fiery whirlwinds) *Grai quos ab re nominitarunt*.

2 **extrema**] Eastern border.

inpares...pari natura] variety as in 1. 1 (see note there).

proxuma terrae] go together, *terrae* being dative: 'parts nearest to land.' So *oppido propinqua* 89. 5.

uti fors tulit] lit. 'according to what fortune brings with it,' 'as chance brings it about.' This absolute use of *fero* is of course derived from such phrases as *quod fors tulit* or *obtulit*.

alta alia, *alia* in tempestate uadosa] 'are deep at one time, shallow at another.' For the position of *in tempestate*, which belongs to both *alia*'s, cp. on 14. 1.

3 **uentis**] abl. of cause, so that *saeuire* is best rendered by a passive verb, 'be made stormy.'

trahunt] 'sweep about.' This rendering is desirable because S. is here translating the Gk. σύρειν (to sweep) which gaves the Syrtes (Σύρτεις) their name. So **tractu** below, 'this sweeping.'

cum uentis] as the winds shift.

4 **modo**] qualifies *lingua*: in all other respects they are not changed.

legum cultusque] dep. on *pleraque*, *Sidonica* being the predicate.

regis] of Numidia.

5 **frequentem**] 'populous.' For **Numidiam** = 'part of N.' see on 61. 2.

uastique] The *que* is of course to be omitted in Engl., being peculiar to the Latin idiom: Bradley's Arnold, 56.

Chapter LXXIX.

1 **rem nos...admonuit**] for double acc. cp. 49. 6.

2 **pleraque Africa**] local abl. With the name of a country classical usage would require a preposition, but this does not seem to have been the case in old and colloquial Latin (e.g. Plautus is quite lax in the matter), and Sallust has elsewhere written *tu Mesopotamia, nos Armenia circumgredimur exercitum* (Hist. fr. 4. 61. 21). Cp. also 28. 6. We find the same tendency in Tacitus. [Most MSS. read *Africae*, but a 4th cent. grammarian tells us that S. wrote the abl. here.] For the sing. *pleraque* see on 18. 12.

Cyrenenses] 19. 3.

3 **habuit**] 'kept.'

4 **legiones**] 'armies,' as in Plautus, Ennius and poets: cp. Hor. S. 1. 6. 4 *magnis legionibus*.

alteri alteros] 18. 12 n.

legati] of each state: hence the sing. *domo*.

inter se] 53. 7 n.

5 **Philaenis**] dative: see 5. 4 n.

pergere] with any object but *iter* is very rare, nor is this phrase itself common.

6 **ceterum**] but it need not have been *socordia*, for as a matter of fact....

atque] 15. 1 n.

nuda] here takes a gen.: the abl. is the usual constr. So in 90. 1 he has the only example in Latin of *uacuos* with a gen.

gignentium] pres. part. (neuter gender) of *gignor* used as a deponent, meaning 'I grow.' Cp. the occasional use of *uehens* to mean 'riding' or 'driving': in this case *ueho* 'I carry' gives *uehor* 'I am carried' and then a deponent *uehor* 'I ride,' which of course has a pres. part. (cp. e.g. *moriens* etc.). The use recurs 93. 4.

7 **aliquanto posteriores**] If the altars afterwards built (§ 10 below) were erected on the spot where they met, the deputies of Cyrene were very much behindhand, for the geographers reckon these *arae* as 80 miles from that town and 180 from Carthage!

conruptam] 'ruined,' rather like our colloquial 'make a mess of.'

domi] = an adj.: cp. *humi pabulum* 18. 1 n.

conturbare rem] 'confuse the point at issue.'

8 **Graeci**] Cyrene was a colony from Thera (19. 3) in the Greek archipelago.

optionem...faciunt ut...obruerentur] 'give them the choice of being buried.' Note that the phrase then takes, for variety, an acc. and inf., a verb of saying being evolved from it: 8. 1 n.

ibi] =*in eo loco*. Then S. could have written *quem* (*locum*) *fines peterent*, 'which they claimed as the boundary.' But, as so often (see on 41. 1), the relative has been attracted to the predicate *fines*.

eadem condicione] viz. of being buried alive there.

10 **rem**] 'my theme,' as in 17. 1.

Chapter LXXX.

2 **ordines**] 49. 6 n.; **signa sequi**] 45. 2. He made them adopt the discipline of regular troops: Intr. p. xxv[3].

4 **ea gratia**] 54. 4 n.

foedus et amicitiam] 14. 2 n.

5 **bello**] is governed by *opportunissumam*.

caeci auaritia etc.] they would not grant it unless his *legati* promised to pay for it.

[**Bocchi**: the best MSS. read *Boccho*, but it seems agreed that Plutarch is right in calling B. Iugurtha's father-in-law.]

6 **pro**] 'according to.'

eo amplius] 'all the more so' because they have more means. But it seems very strange that this last clause (*quo maiores opes habent*) is suppressed.

7 **animus**] 'the affections.'

pro socia optinet] 'ranks as consort,' a peculiar use of *optineo*, derived from such phrases as *optinere locum*, *dignitatem* etc. The absolute use of *optineo* in another sense is common enough: see on 17. 7.

uiles] 'held cheap.'

Chapter LXXXI.

1 **fide**] 'assurances.'

lubidinem imperitandi] explains *causam*.

quis] refers to *illos*, and should be split up into 'for...to them.'

tum] represents *nunc* of Or. Rect., as in 83. 1, 102. 14. With *sese* supply *esse*, with *Carthaginienses* supply *fuisse* from *fore* at the end of the sentence.

Persen] *Perses* is a not uncommon form for the name of Perseus, King of Macedonia. He waged with Rome what is called the Third Macedonian war, but was finally defeated at Pydna in 168 B.C.: his country became a Roman province and P. himself was deported to Italy, where he died in captivity.

2 **eis atque...talibus**] is neuter, *dictis* being past ptciple. The Romans generally avoid ambiguity of gender by reserving such forms for the masc. or fem., and supplying *res* or some other defining noun for other cases, e.g. *multorum* 'of many men,' *multarum rerum* 'of many things.' Cp. however 44. 5, 45. 2, 85. 10, 90. 1.

Cirtam] Intr. p. xv.

3 **operae pretium fore**] 'there would be a reward for his trouble.' The ordinary use of the phrase is rather different: the subject of the verb *esse* is an infinitive which denotes the exertion or trouble referred to: e.g. Cat. 12. 3 *operae pretium est...uisere templa deorum*.

4 **id**] simply anticipates *inminuere*.

pacem] his peaceful relations with Rome. For the use of *inminuere* cp. 110. 3.

moras agitando] = *si m. agitaret*: cp. on *reputando* 1. 1.

aliud] 'some other course.'

Chapter LXXXII.

1 **cognitis Mauris**] 'after first getting to know the M.'

ex commodo] 'at his own convenience.'

2 **nam**] elliptic as in 19. 2 n. '*This was not the first he heard of M.'s successes, for.*'

supra] i.e. beyond the limit prescribed by.

artibus] 'qualities.'

aegritudinem] 'vexation,' 'chagrin.'

3 **uortebant**] 'attributed to'; and from it is supplied a verb of saying to govern the next clause. Generally *uortere in* w. acc. means 'construe as' (a possible meaning here, if *superbiam* = '*act of* pride'), but for the other use cp. Liu. 4. 9. 3 *quaeque alia in deum iras...uortunt*. Observe the variation of construction in the three clauses (1) *in superbiam*, (2) acc. and inf., (3) a *quod* clause.

nobis] for the dat. see on 46. 3; for the psychology, Intr. p. xvi.

anxie] 65. 3 n.

Chapter LXXXIII.

1 **stultitiae**] R. 1282.

alienam] 'that concerned somebody else,' viz. Marius.

mutare] 38. 10 n.

sumi] 'could be taken in hand, begun.' Observe that we should put an adversative particle ('but,' for instance) before *deponi*: cp. 31. 11 n.

2 **copia**] 'opportunity,' and so 'offer.'

3 **contra**] 'with unfavourable replies to....'

Chapter LXXXIV.

1 **ei**] depends on *iussit* in the sense of *decreuit*—a bold use.

antea iam infestus nobilitati] 'whilst (or 'though') he was hostile (enough) before': see on 12. 3. A *quidem* (the Latin μέν) would have helped matters, especially if the idiomatic *ille* had been used: Bradley's Arnold 334.

multus] 'untiringly.' So in 96. 3 [and in Greek πολύς: indeed the phrase here seems a direct translation of Thucydides' πολὺς ἐνέκειτο—said of another demagogue given to censuring the conduct of a war].

spolia] a metaphor from the custom of stripping a slain adversary of his armour.

dolentia] *Mihi dolet* and the like, meaning 'it hurts me,' are used by Cicero impersonally: with a definite subject by Plautus (e.g. *animus m. d.*). Such an example as the present and Ovid's *nil fertur uidisse dolentius* (Ou. M. 4. 246) belong to this latter head, and are distinctly unclassical.

2 **bello**] is dative.

prima] 'paramount,' as in 41. 1 etc.

sociis] See 39. 2 n. for the use of *auxilia* in connection with *socii*.

militiae] 14. 1 n. *Cognitos* of course belongs to it: he had learnt their merits by his own personal experience in war or, in some cases, from the accounts of others.

emeritis stipendiis] is an abl. of quality: cp. the gen. *nullius stipendi* in 85. 10. The technical name for these men was *euocati*.

3 **senatus**] this body was always consulted by the magistrate with regard to the levying of troops, the calling out of the allied forces, etc.

etiam] qualifies *laetus*: it did the other things under compulsion, but the reinforcements it was actually glad to vote.

neque...et] 1. 5 n.

plebi...uolenti] another direct rendering of a Greek idiom [βουλομένοις εἶναι], which recurs 100. 4: lit., 'was not for the commons so that they wished,' where we should say 'not to the taste of the commons.'

belli usum] 'what he needed for the war': cp. 89. 6. [May not the meaning be that as 'pressed men' these troops would be useless for the war? There was, I suppose, no question that M. would be able to *get* the men: his *imperium* would enable him to bring force to bear: cp. 85. 3.]

4 **trahebant**] as in 93. 1. The idea is no doubt similar to that of *uoluo*: cp. too 97. 2 *dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere*.

5 **contionem**] 30. 3 n.

Chapter LXXXV.

1 **modicos**] 63. 2 n.

contra ea] is equivalent to an adverb (*aliter* or *contra* by itself), *uidetur* being 'I think.'

2 **est**] The indicative here is a good example of S.'s predilection for it: other writers would almost certainly have drawn the clause into dependence on the acc. and inf. (which of course depends on *uidetur*).

3 **cum**] 'by virtue of'; but it also implies that they have not given him a sinecure: cp. § 28 below.

benificio] 31. 16 n.; see §§ 8, 26 below.

occursantis] 'opponents.'

opinione] 'than is generally imagined.'

4 **clientelae**] The word *cliens*, once used to denote the plebeian in his dependence on the patrician, now signified any one who attached himself to a person of distinction or influence, and especially the *liberti* of such a person.

5 **procedunt**] 'benefit,' an extension of the common meaning 'have a favourable result' (e.g. 65. 5). So Ou. H. 9. 109 *illi procedit rerum mensura tuarum*.

inuadundi] i.e. attacking the constitution. The metaphor is a military one, not out of place in M.'s mouth: cp. § 6.

6 **capiamini**] may mean 'be deceived' (a common force of the word), but perhaps carries on the metaphor of *inuadundi*: cp. 16. 4 n.

7 **ita...fui**] 63. 2 n., and so once of persons in Cicero. Of course *hoc ita est* (cp. § 42) is the regular Latin for 'this is so.'

8 **uti...deseram**] One would have expected the infin., as in Cat. 4. 1 *non fuit c. bonum otium conterere*.

9 **potestatibus**] 'office,' as in 63. 5.

per ambitionem] 'to win your favour.'

uortit] 20. 4 n. The subject is of course *bene facere*. For the sense cp. Sen. Ep. 120. 11 *more eo perductus ut non tantum recte facere posset, sed nisi recte facere non posset*.

10 **cum**] 6. 2 n.

num id mutare etc.] S. combines (1) *num id mutare melius sit et mittere* and (2) *num melius sit si mittatis*. The *si* clause really explains *id mutare*, and in Engl. we should insert before it, 'I mean.'

globo] compact mass, 'ring.'

prosapiae] a distinctly archaic word, as Cicero tells us.

multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi] bold genitives of quality. For *imaginum* see on 4. 5.

12 **acta maiorum**] military history. One is surprised to find Cicero believing that such a 'course' could produce a general: Acad. 2. 2 (of Lucullus) *cum totum iter et nauigationem consumpsisset partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis, in Asiam factus imperator uenit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis.*

praeposteri] 'who reverse the natural order of things': cp. *frigus praeposterum* in Seneca, of cold that comes in spring (an epithet more intelligible in Italy than in Northern climes!).

gerere] sc. *magistratum*, just as **fieri** means 'to be elected to office.' We should say, '*though* it comes after': cp. 31. 11 n.

re] 'reality'; **usu**, 'actual practice.'

14 **probra**] 'vices': the word is especially used in ref. to offences which would incur the censor's *nota*.

15 **quamquam**] corrective, as often in other writers. M. means that he is not asserting that *all* the *nobiles* are bad and everyone else good.

generosissumum] 'noblest,' is of course the predicate.

17 **ex uirtute...coepit**] 'sprang from merit': they were *boni* before they were *nobiles*.

20 **ne**] 14. 21 n.

21 **apud uos**] in the popular assemblies. For the sing. *pleraque* cp. 18. 12 n.

22 **contra est**] is the opposite of *ita est*: tr. 'this is not so—on the contrary.'

23 Juvenal imitates in 8. 138 sqq. *incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum Nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis*, and of course we have in our own language the '*fierce light which beats upon a throne*.' A fine application of the saying will be found in Caesar's speech in Cat. 51. 12.

25 **quod**] the credit due to brave deeds.

26 **equidem**] 10. 6 n.

conpositam] 'elaborate'—of careful arrangement of words and subject. Cicero couples the word with *ornatus*: cp. § 31 below.

in...benificio] 'considering the favours you have done me': *in* as in 14. 11 n.

in conscientiam duceret] 'attribute to consciousness *of my unworthiness*.' For the use of *ducere in* (for which *uortere in* is more common: see on 82. 3) cp. 14. 1 n., and 92. 2.

27 **ex animi mei sententia**] 38. 4 n.

praedicent] the subject is *uera*; for the mood see on 31. 6.

superant] 'refute.'

28 **uostra consilia**] emphatic: not I, but your policy. From *uostra* is evolved *uos* as antecedent to *qui*: so often.

29 **triumphos**] 31. 10 n.

hastas, uexillum, phaleras] 54. 1 n. Cp. Sil. Ital. 15. 261, 2 *tunc hasta uiris, tunc Martia cuique uexilla...dantur.*

30 **hae...haec**] For the attraction of the pronoun to the predicate see on 41. 1.

31 **conposita**] § 26.

32 **ad uirtutem**] 'for the attainment of a virtuous life.' He seems to imply that many of the Greek philosophers failed to act up to their own creeds.

33 **illa**] acc. retained from the active (*illa doceo*): 56. 2 n.

34 **arte**] 'on short commons': cp. Plaut. Asin. 78 *quamquam illum mater arte contenteque habet* (='short of money'). Note the zeugmatic force of *colam* with this word, for its regular meaning is 'treat *well*.'

meam...illorum] are predicates.

ciuile] such as a citizen may exert over his fellow citizens, 'constitutional.' Cp. the contrast, *dominum esse*, just below.

35 **tute**] again in 102. 11: cp. on 4. 2.

agas] 'live,' 55. 2 n.

cogere] apparently=*cohibere*, 'control.'

dominum] for the acc., cp. 31. 26 n.

37 **quis**] =*maioribus*.

ex] 'on the strength of.'

38 **dono**] probably predicative dative: Roby, vol. 2, p. xlvi b.

39 **pluris preti**] strictly speaking *preti* must depend on *pluris*: for practical purposes *pluris=maioris* and the whole phrase is a gen. of quality.

cocum] Cp. Mommsen's account (of this period): 'But the real focus in which the brilliance of this genteel life was concentrated was the table. Extravagant prices—as much as 100000 sesterces (£1050)—were paid for an exquisite cook etc. etc.' (R.H. vol. 3, p. 417). Livy too speaks of the rise in value of the cook: *quod ministerium fuerat*, he says in words with which one might warn some 'educationists' of the day,

ars haberi coeperat (39. 6). He mentions in the same passage the *conuiualia ludionum oblectamenta* to which S. has just referred (*histrionem*).

40 **sanctis**] combines the ideas of purity and conscientiousness: it is just the word for the old uncorrupted Roman character. However, in 109. 4 it is used of a Numidian.

41 **quin**] with jussive subjunctive, as often with imperative. The other exx. seem to be cases where the subj. = imperative of Or. Rect.

dediti] 'slaves to,' as in 2. 4.

et alia] 1. 3 n.

42 **non ita est**] they won't be content with their banquets etc. For the phrase, see on § 7.

uiri] is used intentionally, to imply that their feelings are unworthy of their sex.

44 **quantum mei mores** etc.] he feels it is an injury to his own character even to have to speak of their offences.

45 **atque**] 11. 8 n. The nouns refer respectively to Bestia, Aulus Albinus and Metellus.

47 **iuxta geram**] 'treat on equal terms': see on 55. 1.

48 **matura**] 'ready to hand,' as they spoke of a *seges matura* (*messi*), ready for reaping.

decebat] 14. 7 n.

50 **nam**] as if *plura non dicam* had preceded.

Chapter LXXXVI.

2 **ex classibus**] By the old Servian constitution those liable to military service were divided into 5 *classes* ('callings') according to their wealth. At the time to which S. refers the lowest class consisted of those whose property was valued at 4000 asses (up to 25000). Those who had less did not serve, but had to pay taxes like the rest, unless indeed they had less than 1500, when they became exempt from this burden also. This last class were called *capite censi* (i.e. entered on the censor's lists only for their persons, not for their property tax). S. means then that M. did not confine himself to the people who had 4000 asses or more (who were in the *classes*), and indeed got most of his men from those who had 1500 or less.

3 **ambitionem**] 45. 1 n. Here it is the favour of the lower classes that is courted.

auctus] 'advanced.'

neque...et] 1. 5 n.

cara] is of course predicate: *sua* is practically 'ties of his own.'

cum pretio] is equivalent to an adjective (28. 1 n.), 'if they brought profit with them.'

4 **igitur**] resumptive after § 3. See on 20. 7.

5 **Rutilio**] 50. 1.

quae audita] 'the news of which,' like *urbs condita* etc.

Chapter LXXXVII.

1 **expletis**] 'raised to their full strength.'

cohortibus auxiliariis] Intr. p. xxix[5].

donat] instead of having it sold and the proceeds paid into the state treasury.

alia aliis] 12. 2 n.

2 **fortissumum** etc.] i.e. the bravest came off best. *Armis* is emphatic and opposed to *ignauia* or *fuga* understood.

patriam parentesque] go closely together and form one phrase, the second member of the enumeration. For *et* with *alia* see on 1. 3.

4 **diuorsi**] 12. 5 n.

laxius licentiusque] For the advbs. see on 63. 2. In 14. 11 *ubiuis tutius quam in meo regno essem* the verb has the idea of *habitare* and the idiom is less perceptible. Cp. 94. 1.

Chapter LXXXVIII.

1 **spem**] *Spes*, *spero* are sometimes used of *anticipation* in a neutral sense, but the use is rare outside the poets.

3 **ex sociis**] 32. 3. The inhabitants of the *prouincia* are meant: see on 8. 1.

armis exuerat] a common phrase to denote a complete rout, in which the fugitives fling away their shields etc. in order to flee more quickly. Cp. *castris exuere*.

4 **belli patrandi**] For the gen. ('calculated to conclude') cp. the common *reipublicae euertendae* in Livy, and R. 1286.

ita Iugurtham etc.] dependent on *statuit* which here passes into the meaning 'feel sure.'

nudatum] *Iri* would of course be added in ordinary Latin: here we can only supply *fore*, which is occasionally combined with the past participle in this way. Cp. Liu. 2. 34. 11 *hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore*, but do not imitate. For the sense, cp. 81. 3.

5 **nam]** as in 19. 2 n.: '*He did not trouble about B.*, for....'

6 **grauior accideret]** 'come upon him with all the more effect.'

mutare] 'alternate.'

solitus] is in apposition to the subject of the dependent verb, *fecerit* or the like, which has to be supplied from *simulauerit*.

Chapter LXXXIX.

2 **mediocria]** 'an unambitious programme': cp. 6. 3.

ob] instead of the *ad* regularly used in such cases, is notable.

4 **Hercules Libys]** 18. 3 n.

inmunes] 'free from tribute.'

5 **oppido propinqua]** 78. 2 n.

infesta] though elsewhere in S. always active ('hostile' etc.), is doubtless passive here, 'rendered dangerous by': cp. Ou. M. 4. 620 *infestaque terra colubris*.

ipsa] of itself, apart from exasperating circumstances.

6 **usum belli]** cp. 84. 3 n., lit. 'usefulness for war,' i.e. value from the strategic point of view.

Thalam] ch. 75 sqq. *Magna gloria* is of course emphatic, 'had won great glory by taking.'

iugi] 'everflowing,' i.e. a never failing spring.

cetera] sc. *aqua*, *pluuia* being predicate: 'the rest of the water they used was rain water.' For the sing. *cetera* see on 61. 2.

7 **ibique]** *que* simply joins *ibi* to the following words: cp. 26. 1 n. for *que...et*.

Africa] =*parte Africae*: see on 61. 2.

agebat] see on 55. 2. It is elsewhere generally used of persons, but cp. 55 l.c. where *ciuitas*=*ciues*, and so one may explain *Africa* here. But it seems simplest to suppose that S. allowed a slight extension of the use. [This view of mine is, I think, supported by Sil. Ital. 9. 214 *licet auia longe Vrbs agat et nostro procul a certamine distet*. Jordan's corrections seem quite needless in face of this.]

Chapter XC.

1 **temptabatur]** 'was beset by.'

aruo] 'ploughed land' (*ar-are*) and so almost the ploughing of it, with the result as seen in crops.

frugum] the only ex. of gen. after *uacuos*: see on 79. 6.

tamen] i.e. though he trusted to the gods, he did not think this freed him from responsibility.

copia] 39. 5 n. *Pro* is 'considering,' 'so far as it allowed.'

2 **equitibus auxiliariis]** Intr. p. xxix[5].

Laris] acc. pl., the town being *Lares*.

dicitque etc.] Marius had evidently found that Iugurtha was well posted as to his movements.

Chapter XCI.

1 **centurias, item turmas]** Intr. pp. xxv, xxiii[4].

coriis] those of the *pecus*.

ignaris omnibus] without letting any one know what his purpose was.

2 **uti...egrederentur]** is a pure final clause, *paratos esse* being used absolutely: 'keep themselves in readiness, so as to....'

seque et iumenta] 26. 1 n.

3 **proxuma]** i.e. *nocte*.

duum] 50. 3.

operitur] 'conceals himself,' as though it were a deponent.

4 **multi]** goes with *egressi*, 'in large numbers.'

eis] refers to the collective *equitatum*: see on 14. 6 n.

obsidēre] 'seize.'

5 **res...metus...malum...pars]** are all subjects to *coegere*. The last clause will be in English 'the thought (or 'fact') that some of their countrymen were outside': see on 6. 3. The people referred to are of course the Numidae of § 4.

6 **ceterum]** i.e. in spite of the *deditio*. So *contra ius belli* in § 7: a city which surrendered looked for milder treatment than one which held out till it was stormed.

uenumdati] 1. 4 n.

Chapter XCII.

1 **magnus...antea]** is concessive: 'though he had been...before.'

2 **non bene consulta]** 'his mistakes': cp. 94. 7 *Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa inuenit*.

in uirtutem trahebantur] 85. 26 n.

modesto] 'strict': cp. *modestia* 7. 4 n. Generally, where the general was a martinet the soldier could not enrich himself, opportunities for

pillage being limited: cp. 44. 1 *praedator...sine imperio et modestia habitus*. *Et* practically means, 'and yet,' as in 95. 3.

ad caelum ferre] 53. 8 n.

magis] with *timere*: they felt for him a fear greater than they would have felt for one whom they believed to be a mere mortal.

4 **asperitate**] 17. 2 n.

qua Capsensium] supply *res fuerat*.

5 **ceteram planitiem**] brief for 'district the rest of which was level.' For the singular of *ceterus* see on 61. 2.

castello] is of course dative: cp. 98. 3 *castris parum amplo*.

omnis] with *mons*: *natura* is abl.

6 **intendit**] 25. 10 n.

7 **nam**] introduces the explanation of the failure of *consilium*.

castello] dative governed by *erat* which has to be understood and has for subjects the nouns *satis*, *uis* and *fons*.

aggeribus turribusque] 21. 3 n.

altis machinationibus] cp. Caes. B. G. 2. 31 *tantae altitudinis machinationes*, where however the *machinatio* is a moveable tower: here the towers are mentioned as something different: cp. *machinis* in 21 l.c. Tr. 'engines of war.' [Many good MSS. read *aliis* and so most edd.]

praecisum] 'with a precipice.'

8 ***ea***] 38. 6. [MSS. read *praecisae uineae* and Wirz's conjecture is an ingenious attempt to explain this final *ae* of the participle.]

Chapter XCIII.

1 **consumptis**] 25. 11 n.

trahere] 84. 4 n. For *cum animo* see 6. 2 n.

2 **cohortibus auxiliariis**] Intr. p. xxix[5]. The Ligurian was accustomed to the precipices of his own mountains.

auorsum] 'farthest away from.'

animum aduortit] is taken as forming a simple verb, and so governs *cocleas*.

studio legundi paulatim] So Ovid (F. 4. 443) of Proserpine's companions: *carpendi studio paulatim longius itur*.

3 **more ingeni humani** etc.] Note the characteristic brevity here: instead of saying 'as so often happens to men's minds, a desire to perform what was difficult *came upon him and this* gave his thoughts a different turn,' S. omits the italicised words.

4 **modo**] with *paulum*, 'only for a short distance horizontal.'

gignentium] 79. 6 n.

fert] 'tends,' of direction, just as they said *uia fert*.

planitiem] 'the level courtyard,' almost.

aderant] here and in 94. 3, seems used for *animo aderant*, 'had their attention upon.'

5 **eādem**] 38. 6 n.

6 **ab**] 14. 10 n. For the mood of *temptet* see 28. 1 n.

7 **promissa**] i.e. the possibility of his doing what he undertook to do: a very brief phrase.

ex praesentibus] means '*some of* those about him' and the phrase forms the object to *misit*. The use should not be imitated. [It is found in Tacitus; cp. the Greek use of the partitive genitive: e.g. Ὁ Κυαξάρης λαβὼν τῶν ἐρρωμένων ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελαύνει, Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 20.]

uti cuiusque etc.] each man's report was coloured by his own character: the sanguine man believed the thing could be done.

Chapter XCIV.

1 **sed**] marks the transition from Marius to the Ligurian.

ex praecepto] must mean 'in accordance with his directions from Marius.'

[**escensuri** is Carrio's conjecture for the extraordinary readings of the MSS., *e centuriis* or *centuriis* (*praeerant*).]

ornatum] 'accoutrements.'

facilius] the adverb may be explained here by the fact that *foret* (*eis*) is equivalent to *haberent* or the like: see however on 63. 2.

offensa] if they knocked against the rocks. Observe the variation in *ponderis gratia* and *quo...streperent*.

2 **nisui**] the dative of work contemplated. One would expect the supine in *u* [which may of course be dative, not abl., if we suppose it to be a case of the survival of the old form of that case: see on 6. 1].

potissumus] 'in preference to anybody else': 14. 9 n.

eādem] as in 93. 5.

digrediens] He had shewn them it was possible to go up and get down again: now he went off once more and without delay, to shew them that he took it for granted there could be no fear now.

3 **aderant**] 93. 4 n.

testudine] the close formation in which the soldiers of the outside ranks place their shields in front and the others hold their shields

over their heads as a protection against missiles. They practised the manœuvre with such success that men were able to walk over the surface presented by the firmly interlocked shields. The origin of the name (*testudo* = 'tortoise-shell') is obvious enough.

succedere] 'came up to the walls.'

4 **pro**] clearly means 'in front of,' 'outside,' as *uisum processerant* in § 5 shews. It could, as far as the use of word goes, mean 'on': see 67. 1.

6 **plerosque...sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora uadere**] at first, being at a distance, they only wounded their foes, who got away, but presently they got nearer and were able to kill. Hence, as they advanced, they found themselves among the dead.

praeda] '*thought of* spoils.'

Chapter XCV.

1 **quaestor**] 29. 4 n.

quos] 14. 6 n.

2 **res**] 17. 1 n.

cultu] 'manner of life.'

neque...et] 1. 5 n.

alio loco] In the Histories however he gave at least a summary of the struggle between Sulla and the Marian party. [Cp. fragments 18. 23, 29. 31 (Dietsch) of the first book.]

L. Sisenna] Intr. p. xiv.

persecutus] *eas res* is object of this as well as *dixere*. The participle is concessive, 'though he has treated of them.'

3 **nobilis**] is probably nominative. As *nobilis* applied to a man generally means that some of the members of his *gens* had held curule office (see on 4. 7) and this was not necessarily the case with all patrician *gentes*, there is no obvious reason why it should not be added as a further specification to *gentes patriciae*. But as a matter of fact *nobilis* is not often used of patricians.

familia] Observe the difference between this and the *gens*, of which it is a subdivision. His *gens* was the Cornelian, which contained, among others, the *familia* of the Scipios. His own was of course known as that of the Sullas.

extincta] a strong word for 'made obscure': *extinguere memoriam* helped a little; cp. Cic. Mur. 16 *memoriam prope intermortuam generis sui uirtute renouare*.

atque] 'yes, and,' parenthetically. [Jordan's *doctissumi* will require that *atque* be taken with *iuxta*, as after *pariter* etc.]

otio luxurioso] is of course an abl. of quality, where we should say, 'addicted to ease.'

nisi quod] 'except that.' The force of the next clause is not quite clear. Literally the meaning is 'except that a more honourable (discreet) course might have been taken as regards his wife,' or, as *uxore* may be collective, and Sulla married five times, 'his wives.' Whether S. is charging him with infidelity or the readiness with which he availed himself of the facilities which Roman law offered for divorce is quite uncertain. For **consuli**, which is of course impersonal, see on 13. 8.

et] 'and yet' (so not a case like 11. 8).

amicitia] is probably ablative, 'ready to give his friendship.'

negotia] is a mere equivalent for *res*, the whole phrase standing for *ad simulandum*.

4 **felicissumo**] He assumed the surname of *Felix*.

ante ciuilem uictoriam] With the punctuation adopted in the text, these words qualify *felicissumo*. S. refuses to call him *felix* after his victory, owing to the cruelty with which he revenged himself upon men who, though his enemies, were nevertheless fellow citizens. Cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 64 *Caesar Alexandrea se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem uidebatur: mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest*. [Modern edd. seem to prefer to make it qualify *numquam ...fuit*, but did not Sulla's *industria* match his prosperity even after his victory—at least until he laid down his dictatorship?]

super...fuit] 'surpassed': cp. 64. 2 *super fortunam animum gereret*.

Chapter XCVI.

1 **igitur**] resumes the narrative: 19. 7 n.

Africam...castra] i.e. first the province and then the camp.

2 **ad hoc**] 'moreover, besides': 2. 2 n.

illi] the debtors, *quam plurumi* being predicative, 'that those who owed him money should be as numerous as possible.'

3 **atque**] 11. 8 n.

multus] 84. 1 n.

quod...solet] sc. *facere*. Generally *fieri* has to be supplied: see on 15. 5.

4 **artibus**] 'qualities,' as so often in S.

CHAPTER XCVII.

1 **pecuniam**] the treasure referred to in 92. 6.

nuntios misit] governs the ensuing Or. Obl.

2 **rationes**] is probably a metaphor from accounts, as we should say, 'balancing the relative advantage of....' For *trahere* ('weigh') see on 84. 4.

antea] 80. 3.

conpositum foret] 8. 1 n.

3 **die**] for this form of the gen. cp. 52. 3.

uictis] =*si uicti essent.*

nullo impedimento] is an abl. of quality, lit. 'not in the nature of a hindrance.' Its use alongside the predicative dative is characteristic of S.'s passion for variety.

utrumque casum] whatever their fortunes, the darkness would be against them.

4 **simul...et**] 'at one and the same moment......and,' 'no sooner.. ...than.'

colligere] 'pile.'

more] 'ordinary formation.'

5 [**escendere** is attested by a fourth century grammarian: all MSS. read the commoner *asc.*]

latrocinio] 'an affair with brigands.'

ordinibus] they did not fight in centuries or maniples: see on 49. 5.

supra] 87. 3. [The MSS. read simply *ueteres nouique et ob ea scientes* which is meaningless. That *ueteres nouique* is right I think certain: S. often uses appositional clauses of the kind: cp. e.g. 65. 4 *equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores*, 94. 5 *cuncti, armati inermesque.* My conjecture is based on the assumption that the copyist's eye passed from *ea qu(a)e* to *scientes* owing to the similar *aeque* preceding the latter word. Then *nouique ob eaque* became *nouique et ob ea.*]

orbis] a formation often referred to by the ancient writers: in usage it corresponded to the modern 'square.'

CHAPTER XCVIII.

1 **quam familiarissumis**] generally the *cohors praetoria* (Intr. p. xxvii) consisted of the commander's friends and clients: cp. Caes. B.G. 1. 39 *qui ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum in re militari usum habebant.*

manu] by actual fighting.

2 **cum...remittere**] observe the (very rare) use of the historic infin. in what is at least formally a subordinate clause and cp. 100. 4. For the use of *cum* inverted see on 12. 5.

3 **copia rerum**] 39. 5 n.

inter se] 53. 7 n.

castris] 92. 5 n.

usui] 'his purpose.'

quaerebat] 'required,' a rare meaning of the word (but found in Cicero).

4 **neque minus hostibus conturbatis**] S. could have written *h. non m. c.* or *neque minus hostes conturbati sunt* (parenthetically): he has chosen to confuse the two constructions.

pleno gradu] a definite military term: soldiers marching thus would cover twenty miles in about six hours, according to Vegetius [*horis quinque aestiuis* he says: the 'summer' *hora* was about an hour and a quarter].

6 **agere pro**] 'behaved as.'

CHAPTER XCIX.

1 **per uigilias**] 'from watch to watch.' The *bucinator* notified the conclusion of each of them.

uigiles] there is no evidence to shew that the men on guard had trumpets. [And MSS. all read *uectigalis*: the text is Kortte's conjecture.]

cohortium, turmarum]=the auxiliary forces: Intr. p. xxix.

portis] 98. 3 implies a fortified position.

2 **ignoto**] the *Numidians* of course knew it well enough, but their new allies heard it now for the first time.

CHAPTER C.

1 **coeperat**] 97. 3. [*Nam* is due to Nipperdey, *proficiscitur* to inferior MSS.]

agere] 55. 2.

quadrato agmine] is always used in connection with a situation like the one here described—of movement in the presence of the enemy. The exact formation denoted by the phrase is not always the same. Here it means 'a rectangle'; the heavy armed are in the centre of this, and the four sides consist of cavalry or light troops.

2 **Manlius cum funditoribus...praeterea cohortis...curabat]** note the double construction of the verb, which is first intransitive (cp. 46. 7) and then governs *cohortis*.

3 **cari]** 'precious.'

quasi nullo inposito] 'as though he had no lieutenant.'

4 **item]** for the brevity cp. Cat. 27. 2 *ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere*.

facere] for the historic inf. cp. on 98. 2. He fortified his camp as carefully as he conducted his march.

futurum quae. Gellius (writer of 2nd cent. A.D.) tells us that he found in a good MS. of Cicero the reading *hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum* and brings forward from older writers some similar passages, where the fut. inf. appears to be indeclinable. [Most edd. read *futuram* in the Cicero passage and Wirz reads *futura* here, but if the future inf. ever was indeclinable, S. is just the writer to revive the usage.] Of course the acc. and inf. depends on *diffidentia*.

uolentibus] 84. 3 n.

5 **illoque aliisque]** 10. 2 n.

malo] 'punishment': perhaps the regular term for it among the troops: cp. Liu. 4. 49. 11 where a general says *malum quidem militibus meis, nisi quieuerint*.

pars...habuisse] that is to say, they explained his sharing the work of his troops by the fact that he had always been used to such things.

nisi tamen] 'anyhow': cp. on 24. 5.

pariter ac etc.] 'as well as it could have been with the sternest of discipline.'

Chapter CI.

The account of this battle will be better understood if the description of Marius' formation in the previous chapter (§ 2) is carefully read. From § 6 below we see that Marius was in the front line, where, as 100. 2 tells us, infantry stood. Sulla was on the right, with cavalry (100. 2). The rear consisted of infantry (ib.), and the left flank does not seem to have been engaged. The battle began on the right flank (§ 4): Sulla charged and routed the enemy (§ 8). Bocchus and the Moorish infantry fell on the rear (§ 5). Iug. had attacked the front (§ 6), evidently with cavalry (see § 10), but on learning that Bocchus had arrived he passed round to the rear (§ 6). When that portion of the Roman troops was giving way, disheartened by Iug.'s false boast, Sulla returned from the chase on the right flank and fell upon the Moorish infantry, taking

them in the flank in the very moment of their victory (§ 8). Bocchus fled at once, Iug. held out until Marius, who had driven off the foe from the front, came up and settled the issue of the day.

2 **diuorsi]** with *redeuntes*, 'coming in from different directions.'

alius ab alia parte] 12. 2 n.

significabant] is at first absolute, 'each brought in his news,' and then governs *idem*, 'and all brought in the same tale.'

ordine] 49. 6 n. He kept to his order of march (100. 2).

3 **aeque]** 'in any case,' 'no matter what formation M. adopted.'

aliquos] goes with *ex omnibus*, 'some portion of his whole force.'

ab tergo...uenturos] 'would be able to take them in the rear.'

4 **ceteri]** the rest of his troops.

5 **priore pugna]** ch. 97 sqq.

adfuerant] the subject is *qui* evolved from *quos*: see on 14. 16.

inuadunt] for the plural cp. 38. 6.

6 **agebat]** 55. 2.

pedites] those of Bocchus. Before he had been with his own *cavalry*. He engaged the *Roman* infantry in *both* cases (see 100. 2 *primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locauerat*).

conuortit] intrans.: 20. 4 n.

Numantiam] 7. 2 sqq.

pedite] collective.

7 **atrocitate rei]** seems to mean 'the horrible thought of such a calamity being possible.'

8 See prefatory remarks to the chapter. *Mauris=barbari* of § 7.

9 **adeptam]** passive, as sometimes in other writers: cp. 17. 7 n.

omnibus] i.e. his companions.

10 **fugatis equitibus]** see § 6 n. After Iug.'s departure they had probably not given Marius much trouble.

11 A graphic description like Byron's

'The flying Mede, his shaftless broken bow,
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear.'

Observe the historic infinitives.

quietem pati] 'keep quiet.'

modo] 'one moment': then, instead of *modo* again, he writes *statim*.

uisus] 'possibility of seeing': cp. 59. 1 *qua regis aduentus erat*.

CHAPTER CII.

1 **post ea loci**] 63. 6 n.

2 **post diem quintum quam**] 76. 5 n.

iterum] cp. on 101. 5 *priore pugna*.

uerbis] 21. 4 n.

mitteret] instead of making this dependent on *petiuere* by *ut*, S. puts it in the jussive of Or. Obl. Cp. on 8. 1.

3 **acciti**] i.e. to *hear*, not to *speak*.

auorsum...cupidum] are conditional: 'if it was....'

4 **concessum**] 'waived his claims in view of': see 11. 4.

5 **cum...monuere**] even Cicero uses *cum* with the ind. in this causal meaning after *laudo*, *gratulor*, etc.: R. 1725.

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6 [**inopi** is certainly awkward: a weak state would have little chance of enslaving others. Some MSS. and edd. omit the word.]

rati] refers to *populus Romanus*: cp. on 14. 6.

7 **offensae minumum**] 'the least possible chance of collision.'

gratia etc.] 'whereas our friendship would be as powerful as if we were neighbours.'

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10 **multa atque opportuna**] 'many services': *habes* meaning 'you have the power to do.'

11 **demitte**] cp. *descendere* 11. 7.

uictum] 'outdone.'

nam] '(I say *benificiis*, not *bello*), for...': 19. 2 n.

tute] 85. 35.

12 **pro**] 'in defence of.'

13 **iure belli suam factam**] a highly coloured account of the transaction of 97. 2.

14 **repulsum**] 80. 4.

tum] =*nunc* of Or. Rect., as in 81. 1.

15 **copia**] that is, of sending ambassadors.

barbari] is emphatic and almost *causal*.

CHAPTER CIII.

1 **praesidium**] is in apposition to *perfugas*, 'as a guard.

2 **rursus**] he returned to his plans of 102. 2.

reputando...admonitus] note the variation, and for the abl. of the gerund see on 70. 2.

aliis] i.e. than those of 102. 15.

3 **placeat**] =*placebit* of Or. Rect.: see on 8. 1.

quocumque] =*quouis*, a usage not to be imitated: until Livy it seems limited (in prose) to the abl. sing. of the word.

4 **sine decore**] 'in a sorry plight.'

proficiscens] most writers would say *cum proficisceretur*: cp. on 35. 10.

pro praetore] 36. 4 n.

5 **uanis**] 'deceitful.' They 'deserved' it, because of the sorry spectacle they presented.

amicum rati] they mistook policy for friendship.

6 **etiam tum**] even at that late date: the Moors were behind the times! *Largitio* is of course 'bribery,' and *multis* means 'many in these parts.'

pariter uolens] 'one whose wishes corresponded to his acts': if a man gave you presents, he must mean well to you.

habebantur] 'were reckoned,' 'put down to'—a bookkeeping metaphor.

7 **beniuolentiae**] 'likely to produce good will': dative of work contemplated, R. 1156. [The MSS. also offer *beniuolentiam*, or *-uolentia*. Wirz would read *uolentia*, which S. elsewhere uses, as the Greeks used *βουλόμενα*, in a passive sense 'desired by.' I am not at all sure that S. may not have allowed himself to use *beniuolentia* in the sense '*shewing goodwill*,' the epithet which really belongs to the actor being transferred to the act. 'Things *likely to produce goodwill*' would surely come under the head of *utilia*.]

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troops in the coast towns: see 100. 1. [But the MSS. are divided between *Tucca* and *Utica*. The latter seems impossible in view of the mention of that city a little later, where it is really needed to explain *praetorem*. Even *Tucca* is not satisfactory: seeing that S. did not say where Sulla was at § 4 of the last chapter, he is hardly likely to have troubled to do so here—where the information is quite unessential. However, it seems so unlikely that a copyist should have inserted the name of this comparatively unknown town that I leave the words in the text.]

praetorem] the governor of the *prouincia* (see on 19. 7): his seat would be at the capital, Utica.

2 **in quis** etc.] In this sentence there are really two subjects to *postulabantur*: (1) the clause *legatis potestas...fieret* and (2) the noun *indutiae*. So in 65. 2 *petenti* takes first a clause and then a noun as objects. It is all part of the straining after variety. *Fieret* is really jussive.

aduorsa] the opposite degree or state of things, from good to bad and vice-versa.

3 **quaestor**] He would be one of the two *quaestores urbani*, so called because they remained in the city to superintend the Treasury. Apparently Ruso had to bring the money out and (doubtless) return at once. The actual payment to the soldiers would be the duty of Marius' quaestor, Sulla.

4 **deprecati sunt**] 'pleaded in excuse,' a usage apparently not found elsewhere: cp. however *si deprensi simus excusemus ebrios Nos fecisse* Plaut. Aul. 742—3.

amicitiam et foedus] 14. 2 n.

5 **gratiam facit**] *gratiam* here has the meaning of 'a favour,' almost 'a gift.' Cp. the use of *condono*.

Chapter CV.

1 **cuius arbitratu**] 'in order that......with full powers on Sulla's side.' *Arbitratu meo, tuo, suo* is a common phrase, denoting that a person acts 'in accordance with his rights,' 'up to his discretion.' *Cuius* of course =*ut...eius*, as the subjunctive *consuleretur* shews.

negotiis consuleretur] 'take measures to secure,' *not* 'discuss,' which would require *de neg.* For *communibus neg.* cp. 108. 2 *res communis*.

2 **uelitaribus**] such as the *uelites* carried, Intr. p. xxv.

neque his secus etc.] 'and quite as well protected by this class of weapons as (they could have been) by any other against the missiles of the enemy.' *Armis* no doubt refers to their weapons as well as the defensive armour; so that *muniti* means at once 'protected' and 'adequately armed.' For *atque* see on 15. 1.

3 **mille non amplius equitibus**] 58. 3 n.

hostilem] 'such as enemies would cause': cp. *hostilia* (e.g. 3. 2 above).

efficiebant] is used here (zeugmatically) to mean (1) 'made...seem' and (2) 'produced.'

4 **intendere**] 'aim.'

timor] sc. *eis erat*. With this supplied dative, *uictoribus* stands in apposition.

5 **rem...quietam**] 'the encounter was of a peaceful nature.'

Chapter CVI.

1 **adueniens**] for the pres. ptc. see on 35. 10.

2 **diei uesper**] 52. 3.

incerto] 'perplexed,' 'troubled': cp. Cic. Clu. 54 *timor eius, perturbatio, suspensus incertusque uoltus*.

noctu] i.e. that same night.

3 **mansurum**] depends on the affirmative *dicit* evolved from *negat* above. This is a common usage: cp. too 107. 3, 111. 2.

ducebat] for the ind., spite of Or. Obl., see on 54. 1.

interiturae] 'destined to end.'

parceret] would have been subj. even in Or. Rect.: see on 24. 9.

5 **cum...nuntiant**] 12. 5 n.

6 **apud**] often means 'in the hands of,' and so here: *scelus* is practically 'the advantage derived from *scelus*.' Cp. Tac. A. 2. 70 *neque praemia caedis apud interfectorem mansura*.

Chapter CVII.

1 **prohibet**] this vb. generally means 'prevent from *doing*,' not 'prevent from *suffering*.' Caesar however uses the same phrase.

hortatur...gererent...pugnatum] 8. 1 n.

[**a paucis**: so inferior MSS. The good ones omit *a*, but Sallust's use of the dative in such passages as 46. 3 does not justify its use here for the agent: see note there. We should have to explain the case as ablative absolute, 'if a few men behaved like brave soldiers.']

decere] We should rather have expected him to say that it was *folly*, and that is what Xenophon, whom he seems to be imitating here,

does say. But see on 3. 3. [Xen. Cyrop. 3. 3. 45 ''tis folly for those who wish for victory to take to flight, turning to the foe those parts of their bodies which have not power of sight, defence or action.']

2 **faceret**] the subjunctive is that of Or. Obl., and implies that Sulla's words are being quoted. In Engl. 'because, as Sulla maintained, he was acting....'

3 **calliditate**] with this, from *nihil factum*, supply the positive *factum*, and cp. 106. 3.

4 **neque...et**] 1. 5 n.

6 **uti**] limits: the proposal would not have been accepted in better circumstances. We should say, 'as the only one in....'

acciderant] of persons, as in 88. 6.

CHAPTER CVIII.

1 **multum**] 'frequently.'

orator et...speculatum] a good ex. of Sallustian variety.

Massugradae filius] M. himself may have been a son, Dabar therefore a grandson, of Masinissa.

2 **Iugurthae legatum**] Aspar.

consulto etc.] 'He had purposely kept up his relations ('not broken') with Iug.'

res communis] the object they (Bocchus and Sulla) had in common.

3 **conperior**] 45. 1 n.

Punica fide] the faithlessness of the Carthaginians was proverbial at Rome, though one has but to read to the end of this book to see that Rome herself had little right to fling a stone at them.

traderet] is dependent deliberative, 'whether he should deliver Iug. to the Romans or....'

lubidinem] 'personal inclinations.'

CHAPTER CIX.

1 **responderentur**] 'must be said in reply.' For the subj. see on 57. 2.

3 **ac nihil...decreuisse**] observe how *iubet* becomes, for this clause, a simple verb of saying.

nunc] as in Or. Rect. The word generally becomes *tum* in Or. Obl. (81. 1 n.), but here perhaps *tum* is intentionally avoided, as the reader would at first suppose it referred to *diem decumum*. So in 111. 1 *tum* was impossible, because of the following *tum*.

4 **sanctus**] 85. 40 n.

ex sententia] for the phrase see on 38. 4, for its use as an adjective 28. 1.

CHAPTER CX.

2 **nullius**] probably depends on *ope* (or *opis*) understood.

3 **id**] his independence, just described.

inminutum] cp. 81. 4.

fuerit mihi etc.] 'let this loss of independence which has at length come upon me be the price for (i.e. 'buy me') your friendship': I am ready to put up with the loss of my old position if it secures me your friendship. *Fuerit* is jussive, implying 'I am ready for it to be.'

4 **adeo**] is simply emphatic, as often with pronouns: cp. e.g. 111. 1.

integra] 'fresh,' 'unpaid.'

6 **finis meos**] he keeps to the tale of 102. 13.

8 **flumen**] is used loosely for the territory bounded by the river: hence *egrediar* and *intrare*.

intrare] as a means of escape.

CHAPTER CXI.

1 **multis**] 'at length': so *paucis* often (e.g. 110. 6).

quod polliceretur] is object to *habituros*, 'his promising.'

in gratiam habituros] for the acc. see on 14. 1. *Habere* does not obviously imply motion (hence e.g. 103. 6 *in benignitate habebantur*) but it easily acquires it: see e.g. 112. 3 where *in potestatem habere* means 'get into one's power.' And the analogy of such verbs as *duco*, *pono* in similar metaphors would help. [As an actual fact, unless we entirely reject the authority of Gellius, the Romans constructed even *esse* thus: in such cases of course it would have the pregnant force of 'come to be.']

illorum...sua retulisse] R. 1285.

adeo] 110. 4 n.

copiam] 'access to': so in Plautus and Terence.

tradidisset] 8. 1 n.

quam nunc peteret] in reference to his remarks in 110. 6 (see there).

ultro] 8. 2 n.

2 **negitare**] passes into the force of *dicere*: see on 106. 3.

cognationem] unless Bocchus and Iug. were related by blood (a thing of which we hear nothing elsewhere), this could apply only to the relations between B. and Iug.'s children.

adfinitatem] through his daughter, married to Iugurtha (80. 6).

interuenisse] 'formed a connexion between them.'

metuere] is probably historic inf. [In any writer but S. we might feel sure it was not Or. Obl., because of the *erant* of the relative clause: this tells little here (see on 54. 1). However, Bocchus would perhaps hardly mention here how unpopular Rome was with his people.]

4 **pacem**] i.e. to make it appear that peace negotiations were really in hand.

Chapter CXII.

1 **poni**] =*deponi* of 83. 1.

2 **cuncta**] acc. retained from the active: see on 56. 2.

saepe antea] refers particularly to the affairs of Albinus, as appears from § 3 where Iug. refers with grim humour to the senate's decision of 39. 3: *suo atque populi iniussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri*.

conuentam] is used curiously here: *pax conuenta* is the passive of *pacem conuenire*, 'to agree on peace,' an expr. which is not found in Latin. However they said *conuentum* for 'an agreement,' which comes to the same thing.

3 **ambobus consultum**] 'act in interests of both.'

una] with *ueniretur*.

in potestatem] 111. 1 (*in gratiam*) n.

non sua ignauia etc.] With remarkable brevity S. leaves us to take *in potestate* first with *ignauia*, 'who was in their hands through no fault of his own,' and then with *relictum iri*, 'would be left there.' Besides this, it is unusual to say *sua ignauia in hostium potestate* for *qui s. i. i. h. p. esset*. But for this see on 28. 1.

Chapter CXIII.

1 **uoluens**] =*cum uoluisset*: see on 15. 1.

dolo...cunctatus] the vb. of this clause is *promiserit* understood: 'whether he made the promise with real or feigned reluctance.'

2 **in colloquium**] of course belong to the *uti* clause: cp. on 13. 6.

3 **inmutata uoluntate**] he resolved *not* to consult them.

uoltu...uarius] lit. 'changing in face and glance as much as in mind,' i.e. betraying in the one the uncertainty of the other.

quae...patefecisse] the acc. and inf. depends on *scilicet* (see on 4. 6). [But the clause is certainly a feeble repetition of the one before, and deserves all the suspicion with which edd. regard it.]

5 **quaestore**] of course means Sulla.

7 **ceteri**] the *necessarii* of § 6.

Chapter CXIV.

1 **Gallos**] The Cimbrians, to whom he refers, were of course Germans, but they had acquired in their wanderings a Celtic element and the Romans often call them Gauls. The measures taken by Rome to secure her frontiers in the districts of the Alps and Balkans seem to have brought upon her these peoples, who had for some time been wandering along the northern verge of the Danube-region. After defeating a consul in 113, they passed westward and routed a Roman army in Southern Gaul, after which they remained inactive until 105, when the battle to which S. refers took place.

Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio] the defeat was owing to the quarrels between them: Manlius was consul, Caepio proconsul. The battle is generally called that of Arausio: 80,000 Roman soldiers are said to have perished in it.

Italia omnis contremuit] 'The Romans were accustomed to open every war with disasters. The invincibleness of their arms was so firmly established that it seemed superfluous to attend to the pretty numerous exceptions. But the battle of Arausio......produced a sudden and fearful awakening from these dreams. Men recalled the Celtic inroads of the 4th century, the day of Allia and the burning of Rome...... Through all the west people seemed to be aware that the Empire was beginning to totter' (Mommsen, R. H. 3. 184).

2 **illique**] sc. *Romani*, 'the Romans of those days.'

alia omnia etc.] we should say, 'whereas all other wars were easy matters, with the Gauls it was a struggle etc.'

3 **absens**] of course this was an honour: the candidate escaped all the troublesome business of canvassing etc. (see on 4. 3). Later on the thing was made illegal, and the disputes thereon were one of the direct causes of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

triumphauit] S. says nothing of Iug.'s end in the old dungeon of

the Capitol. Plutarch (Mar. 12) tells us how 'after the triumph he was thrown into prison, and some tore his robe off his back, others, eager to secure his golden earrings, pulled the lobe of the ear off with them. And when they thrust him down naked into the deep dungeon he cried out with a laugh 'Heavens, how cold your bath is!' For six days he struggled with famine, to the last moment clinging to desire for life, and thus paid the penalty of his crimes.'

4 **spes...in illo sitae**] and not in vain: in 102 and 101 he inflicted on the enemy the crushing defeat of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae, which practically annihilated the invaders.

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